

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. X

April, 1960

No. 4

EDITORIAL

The *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science* of the Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago, commenced its fiftieth volume in May-June 1959 and is planning a special anniversary volume for its 1960 issue. Under its original title of *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, it was founded soon after the National Conference of Criminal Law and Criminology was held at Northwestern University in June 1909. It was to that Conference that not only the *Journal*, but also another important landmark of American criminology, the 'Modern Criminal Science Series' owed its origin, in which nine of the principal works of leading European criminologists were published in English translations. In the course of the current year, the present Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal*, Professor Robert H. Gault, is completing his fiftieth year in this position. These two anniversaries are rare events in the history of criminology, and in particular Professor Gault's record of half a century's uninterrupted work seems to be unique. During this period the *Journal* has gained a very distinguished place for itself in the international literature of criminal law and criminology through the high quality of its contents, especially its articles. As its Editor-in-Chief, Professor Gault has been the driving force in this development and has won the esteem of criminologists all over the world. The news of his forthcoming retirement will be received with universal regret. As a comparative newcomer *The British Journal of Delinquency* offers its congratulations and best wishes for the future to him, to his colleagues, and to his successor, Professor Claude R. Soble.

The growth of psychiatry, clinical psychology and social science case taking has been very rapid in the last twenty-five years. This rapid expansion in depth and extent has been the subject of much resentment, even alarm. This has probably two roots: one, the fear that established (and, to many, eternal) ethical values appear to be rendered null and void by the quasi

determinism of psychopathology in particular; two, the view that the shortcomings in the behaviour of individuals are in a large measure due to socio-economic anomalies which social political meliorism can put straight. It is further not strange that physical and social conditions of labour and the mental stresses of individuals have produced breakdown in physical health. This has led to a closer and closer approximation of the concepts of health, physical and mental. Indeed the socio-economic, the purely psychological and the psychosomatic have together woven themselves so close together that frontiers of enquiry have dissolved and the passports of the different area disciplines are discarded perhaps all too easily. A book of considerable importance by Barbara Wootton has opened up the issue of what the author regards as dangerously misleading overlaps between the disciplines—medicine, psychological medicine, and social science. It is good that at a time of rapid advance (not necessarily progress) someone with authority of experience and logical acumen should throw the challenger's gage into the arena.

Lady Wootton has mainly and with perhaps too bitter an emphasis used her powers of criticism in a somewhat forensic manner. Her critique of the concept or concepts of mental health sounds devastating when juxtaposed and out of context. They are indeed pious and platitudinous at times, but on her own admission one or two common threads run through them giving a not unreasonable semblance of uniformity of attitude. This of course is no validation. But the pursuit of psychiatric enquiry *does not* rest on definitions of mental health—nor do physical medicine concepts so rest. The *complaint* is the source or first door of enquiry, whether the complainant be the sufferer or a society which has the duty to watch and where possible correct deviant health of mind and body. The last quarter of a century has shown that the body-mind dichotomy is more philosophical than actual. Logicians have in their simon purity stood in the way of these clinical advances which have disclosed the interaction of mind and body, although the techniques of physical medicine have the fortune to appear more objective and therefore more amenable to quantitative study and therefore to statistical validation; psychiatry, which is now rightly reinforced by the depth enquiries of psychoanalysis and the objective test approach of the clinical psychologist, made contributions which no logician can ignore. That they should be repeatedly winnowing their extravagant growths of enthusiasm is obvious enough. But in spite of this the basic methodology is inductive nor is the factual matter unsuited to analysis in the proper hands. But critics must realize that our data are historical and therefore fluctuant. These historical variances are admittedly coloured by value judgment. So also are the aspirations of social meliorists.

Lady Wootton's scourging attack on social workers is again not altogether unmerited. But is it not due to the raw and still undigested vocabulary of the social science of today which, attempting to draw on many sciences for descriptions and relationships has produced an *olla podrida* which taxes the digestive system of the methodologists. But unfortunately Lady Wootton's critique goes further: it implies an unnecessary and even offensive nosing into the lives of persons who have been rendered unhappy more by socio-economic stress than from personal obliquity. That many social workers are inexperienced and assume the air of omniscience is true enough but such a criticism indicting a class does gross injustice to the dedicated individuals.

On some points of methodology we can learn much from 'Social Science and Social Pathology'. The view that there are delinquencies and not Delinquency is a view that cannot be driven home with sufficient vehemence. Lady Wootton welcomes the enquiries into particular forms, she rightly questions the overall concept of broken homes and the significance of child-mother disturbances. But she is beating a dead horse. These concepts have not been as universally accepted in psychiatry, certainly not in psycho-pathology, as she leads readers to believe. Fortunately for the author, dead horse beating is not an indictable offence.

Two of the most promising developments in post-war English prison administration are the establishment of the Wakefield Training School and Staff College and the introduction of a growing number of assistant governors to prisons. Apart from brief references to them in the Annual Reports of the Prison Commissioners and a few pages in Sir Lionel Fox's standard work on 'The English Prison and Borstal Systems', now eight years old, the outside world has been given hardly any information on the work done at Wakefield and the selection and training of these assistant governors. To an American Fulbright scholar, Mr. John Conrad, an experienced member of the Californian Department of Corrections, we owe the penetrating and constructive analysis published in the present issue. While stressing the 'magnificent opportunity' offered by the Wakefield College to provide training of a kind 'virtually unknown' in the United States, his first-hand observations have led the author to formulate a number of cautiously expressed criticisms of the present system which seem to require the most careful study on the part of all those concerned. Are these training courses long enough to do justice to all those many subjects essential to the work of the governor of a modern prison or Borstal? Do they provide sufficient training in work with small groups of difficult people in counselling and psychiatry? Is the material assembled at Wakefield fully used for purposes of research and the collection of an adequate body of teaching aids? Is there

the fullest possible co-operation between the Staff College and the field workers in the prison service? How is it to be explained that, as Conrad observes, many governors who visit the college and participate for a short while in its work, seem to be unfamiliar with the College's programme and services? In view of the practical importance of the issues raised in this article, the Editors are anxious to encourage a full discussion of the matter in this *Journal* by those actively concerned either as staff members or trainees or in any other capacity.

The Podola case, which receives some commentary from C.D.L. Clark in this number, brings into prominence the importance of Brian O'Connell's article concerning amnesia and murder. Both amnesia and murder are overlapping issues. Loss of memory has by no means a significant correspondence with crime, although in juvenile delinquencies witting memory loss is common enough as an initial plea of innocence. Nor does murder in its various forms correlate significantly with amnesia claimed or substantiated or suggested from any cause psychological or physical. O'Connell rightly argues that we must start from the state of registration of events to the various conditions which interfere with registration (via attention). Prolonged and repeated registration leads to long-term memory imbedding, and therefore the long-term study of a mind must be embarked upon in order to give grounds for the interference with the imbedding of impressions until they become, as all memory traces do, part of personality dynamics. Nevertheless, whatever the organic occasions which give rise to diffuse or circumscribed memory loss—brain injury, epilepsy, biochemical anomalies—the major foundations for memory loss lie in the field of emotional stress, as O'Connell's series of murderers clearly show.

The issue of amnesia is so momentous for the life of the accused and for lawyers and psychiatrists involved in any case that its classification and its character call for careful re-examination beyond the classical attribution of dissociation amnesia to the hysterical states or to the hysterical character. Not only in suspect hysterics will the mind suffer cleavage with the loss of periods of time and indeed of isolated motor and sensory function, but in all persons subject to sufficient psycho-biological stress; the victims of battle stress, the victims of earthquake, eruptions, flood, etc. These are all defensive mechanisms of varying degrees of personality involvement and persistence. The murderer (and here we might confine our attention to the non-organic group of offenders) is one who through the very nature of his crime has so offended against society that the sense of alienation, except in the psychotic

THE ASSISTANT GOVERNOR IN THE ENGLISH PRISON

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In this generation of penology, it is a commonplace that no matter how grim or how gleaming the prison building may be, it is the staff which determines whether it is going to be of any use. On this easily substantiated basis, much time and thought have gone into staff training wherever prisons are being transformed from places of retribution into instruments of rehabilitation. Elaborate curricula have been devised to make disciplinary officers out of recruits, to elevate promising men from the ranks to supervisory posts. Few dispute the necessity for such training or its essential components. Merely to control men in confinement is an occupation loaded with obvious hazards both to the prison itself and to the community outside. Violent experience has shown that this is no work for greenhorns.

We are agreed that custodians must be taught. There is also a consensus on what to teach them. The count, the search, the judo basics, and, lately, the rudiments of group counselling, have been typical elements of instruction. But there is no agreement, though surprisingly little controversy, about the training of prison administrative staff. In both England and the United States impressive and persuasive oratory may be heard at conferences and read in the press about the need for trained men to manage the sensitive equilibrium of the modern prison. These strong words are to the point; the battle against duly appointed incompetence in high places is by no means won. But the essential elements of proficiency in prison administration are seldom laid out. The way up is all too often routed through the assumptions implicit in seniority. Where merit is to be allowed for, its definition eludes precision.

Nevertheless, the importance of merit in the management of prisons is critical now, and will become more so as society's demands on correctional services become more exacting. The difference between a prison in the hands of a time-server and a prison led by a man with an understanding of his rôle and its potentialities has always been obvious. Indeed, we may twist a cliché and say fairly that a penal institution is the lengthened shadow of

the man in charge. But if we look ahead, we can see that the competence of prison management is going to be even more essential to the improvement of the correctional fabric. For it is obvious that prisons will not much longer be permitted to remain in governmental backwaters, changing little and remote from the currents of change. A flood of ideas, hypotheses to be tested, new knowledge to be applied, is rushing from the universities and institutes to all correctional facilities. To channel the flood into the requirements of a daily routine is now and will increasingly be the most exacting task of the administrator. He had better know what he is doing and what he will be asked to do. The relevance of his selection and training to the systematic improvement of the prisons over which he and his colleagues preside is clearly of the first order.

During nine months' observation of British prisons, Borstals, and detention centres, I have been struck with the Prison Commission's methods of developing adequate leadership for its establishments. This method consists of a sequence of purposeful selection, intensive training, and early involvement in the demands of leadership, administration, training, and treatment. The key to the sequence is the Assistant Governor. This is the position for which administrative trainees are prepared, in which their mettle is tried, and from which the best are chosen to be prison governors. In this article I propose to describe the assistant governor and his training from the vantage point of an outsider. What follows does not pretend to be the exhaustive analysis which the subject deserves. It is rather a preliminary appraisal of a system and a statement of the questions which the system raises. Perhaps it will lead to the comprehensive studies which the problem of training for prison administration demands.

THE USES OF THE ASSISTANT GOVERNOR

The Civil Service classification is divided into two grades, designated as II and I, in ascending order. The work of the Assistant Governor II is of the more significance to us. It is in this grade that the shaping and testing of the future administrator takes place. The Assistant Governor I is a deputy, acting for his chief, learning his future rôle by the familiar method of being the second-in-command. It is the Assistant Governor II who is thrust into the new world of the prison or the Borstal to learn his trade and at the same time exert the positive influence peculiar to his position on inmates and staff.

The first steps of the fledgling are taken in the capacity of a housemaster, either in a Borstal house or a prison wing. Much has been written about the Borstal housemaster, who, for our purposes, is the model for the assistant

governor's assignment. It is well to recall that he is a lineal descendant of the public school housemaster. Borstals and public schools differ vastly in purpose and problems, but they have two common elements—boys, and a residential situation. When the Borstal mould was cast, it was inevitable that the accumulated experience of the public schools should be adapted by the designers. The housemaster in the public school, whose rôles include those of a substitute father, a teacher, a house administrator, a tutor, and a disciplinarian, is transplanted without many rôle changes to the Borstal design. Is this as simple as it sounds? A comparison of the two housemasters reveals some notable contrasts. In the public school, the housemaster is a product of the system he administers. Almost always he was once a public school boy himself. He has attained his position after thorough qualification as a professional teacher. Through a lifetime of contact with housemasters he has learned the essentials of the rôle. He leads, teaches, and guides a houseful of boys whose presence is voluntary and whose loyalties have been engaged.

In the Borstal, the housemaster enters an unfamiliar scene to take over the leadership of a staff and boys to whom he is unknown and obviously inexperienced. He must supervise a staff which is to a man his senior in the service. He must guide boys whose experience of life in the social structure of confinement is far greater than his own. He can seldom have had more than superficial knowledge of the milieus from which his charges came and to which they will return. His caseload consists of the delinquent adolescent, perhaps the most difficult assignment in the whole field of casework. He comes to his task in the earliest stage of his career, rather than as the seasoned professional who has learned his trade in a lifetime of preparation in subsidiary rôles.

So it will be some time before the new Borstal housemaster functions as such. If he persists, he will eventually function as a trainer of subordinate staff, as an administrator of house activities, as a caseworker, and as a group leader. Beyond these rôles, but as an essential part of each, he will use his personality as an agent of treatment. What actually happens with the new housemaster is worth far more attention than we can give it here. But if you discuss with him his daily routine, sooner or later you will hear that most of his time is spent in 'getting to know the chaps.' This is a cheerfully vague statement of duties. But if we probe further it turns out to be a clue to at least five of the elements of his job. There are other expectations of the housemaster, but it will be worth while to examine the process of 'getting to know the chaps'.

First, the housemaster must establish and maintain *contact* with his inmates. Contact is indispensable to control, which, in turn, is essential

to the order of the house. A housemaster who knows his chaps will understand their conduct. To some extent he will be able to predict it, and when necessary, he will be able to deal constructively with the behaviour problems which his chaps will present to him.

Second, the contact established will *counteract depersonalization*. To take the trouble to know a chap is to make a contribution to his feelings of personal worth. In locking up a boy, we are not only removing him from the influences which got him into trouble, but we are also taking him away from whatever good influences may have been at work on him. His new contacts in the Borstal will contribute new influences and new feelings about self. Inevitably some of these new contacts will be negative. The housemaster's contact will not be uniformly successful in counteracting the depersonalizing effects of confinement, but it will be one of the influences at play.

Third, through getting to know the chaps a helping *relationship* can be established. A housemaster may be none too sure that his chaps can be helped, but he would like to try. Once the housemaster knows the chap and in turn is known, he may become the father-figure, the wise counsellor, or perhaps the non-directive caseworker, depending upon inclination, training or both.

Fourth, the chaps have *problems to be solved*. The housemaster is, or should be, the trusted person to whom the inmate can turn for help with extra-mural concerns. The monotony of Borstal life is animated, often profusely, by problems with families, with past and future employers, with creditors, with police and courts, and with after-care agencies. Most of these problems were more than a match for the inmate when he was free. They are beyond his effective solution in a Borstal. Some of these matters can be referred to the welfare officer if there is one. But the housemaster must be aware of their implications and he must assist with their solution.

Fifth, the housemaster must participate in *decisions* about the chaps. Many of his decisions must be validated by the governor, but there is also a substantial area in which his decision can be final. Whatever the area, though, he must participate, at least by recommendation, in any decision made by the governor and in most decisions made by the Prison Commission concerning the boys in his house. Good decisions must be founded on knowledge of the boy, and their interpretation must flow through an established contact.

So, regardless of whatever else the housemaster intends to do, he must 'get to know the chaps'. If in doing so he manages to discharge the five constituent functions, he will be on his way to mastering his craft. It is here that the central question of this enquiry emerges. How can we prepare

the housemaster to play this difficult rôle? Let us keep it in mind for a while. There are other feats expected of the young assistant governor, and we must look into them.

He is a master of a house which includes a staff as well as inmates. His subordinates will include an experienced principal officer, a matron and four or more disciplinary officers. These will be his partners in the enterprise of treatment as well as his agents of control. How does the housemaster use them? If he knows what he wants, he will share with his staff his knowledge of the boys and will absorb their knowledge in return. Their common task is to make life in their house a therapeutic experience for each boy in it. There will be a consistency of effort which will come from common understanding of inmates and treatment objectives. This goal can hardly be reached with all the handicaps which human flesh and spirit are heir to. But the housemaster must come as close as he can through the leadership of his staff. What are the implications of the task?

First is an understanding of the rôles which each member of the house must play, housemaster, staff, and boys. While the social structure of the Borstal house is a prime subject for basic sociological research, the house staff must for better or for worse come to some *ad hoc* understanding about it. Usually, one supposes, this agreement is implicit in the daily operation of the house. Perhaps in some houses a discussion of structure takes place as a part of staff operations and training.

With an understanding of his rôle as leader and of his subordinates' rôles, the housemaster must consider his second responsibility to the staff, which is to train them. He must see to it that they can do what he wants them to do. It is no small challenge for the young and inexperienced housemaster to assume this task with a group of disciplinary officers who have seen his predecessors come and go and who have become set in their ways. He will need a clarity about his ideas and a tact as a supervisor and trainer which may be beyond his capacity. It will be all too easy to get on with his talks with the boys and leave the effective training to his principal officer. But training is a task which cannot be burked. A housemaster who subsides into an interviewer will be a meaningless figure to the boys he is interviewing.

And third is the burden of administration. The housemaster must make the organization work for the purpose for which it was devised. Boots must be repaired, clean linen must be supplied. Boys must wake and rise in the morning and proceed through the ordained Borstal schedule for the day. Security must be maintained and discipline must be enforced. Letters to all sorts of interested parties must be written. Changes in policy and procedures must be put into effect. Over and above these tasks, the house-

master is usually assigned the oversight of some aspect of Borstal administration such as education, recreation, or work assignments. All of these administrative concerns require that the housemaster in his Borstal house should be like a fish in the water. He must have a feeling for Borstal aims and Borstal tools. Boots must be repaired on time and reports must get to the hands which need them. Proficiency with details and time tables may be come by with months on the job. But it will help if the housemaster comes to his assignment with a knowledge of the methods of administration and their importance in making the programme work.

Fourth, and finally, is communication. I do not intend to involve this discussion in the larger sense of communication as one of the central scientific problems of our time. The housemaster will be busy enough without giving thought to communications theory. But he must see to it that the governor knows what he needs to know, that his staff understands his ideas, and that the chaps themselves know what's going on. In short, he must know how to report, how to order, and how to inform himself. He must know how these tasks are executed at all levels, with large groups, small groups and individuals, in writing and by word of mouth.

To recapitulate the demands on the housemaster, we see him filling a formidable position which on the one hand calls for exceptional adroitness in contact with sixty or more inmates. On the other hand, he is building and manipulating a social structure through which the inmates in his charge can learn new ways of getting along with themselves and with others. If we look closely at these two assignments, we can discern the skills which the housemaster must somehow or other develop. First, it is clear that the knowledge which we include under the heading of *casework* is basic. Social diagnosis, interviewing and evaluation of progress will be daily requirements. Second, the housemaster will need enough grounding in group theory and practice to work purposefully with the social structure of which he is a part. Third, he must understand the prison system as a whole, and how to make use of its organization to achieve the objectives of his house. Fourth, he must know criminology, the *mélange* of social sciences which is essential to an understanding of his job. Caseworker, group worker, administrator, trainer, and criminologist: how can he successfully be prepared for all these rôles?

SELECTION

There are two routes to appointment as an Assistant Governor II. First is the route leading from the ranks. The Prison Commission's aim is to fill the class of governors and assistant governors from the uniformed grades as far as suitably qualified candidates are forthcoming. So far, this aim has not been close to achievement, there being nowhere nearly enough

qualified men in the service applying for the promotion. At present, 37 per cent. of the assistant governors have seen uniformed service. A sequence of application, local recommendation, a country-house test, and approval by the Prison Commission leads to enrolment of the officer candidate in the Staff College at Wakefield. Enrolment does not ensure appointment. Of the four officer candidates who completed the Wakefield course during the 1958-59 session, three were promoted, while the fourth was returned to the ranks. This was a more than usually favourable proportion of successes. This uncertainty of outcome of training presents problems of some moment, to which we shall return.

The second route is that of direct appointment. In a simpler age, long since gone, governors were all qualified by application from outside the service. Direct entry is now restricted to the Assistant Governor II class. Advertisements in the press and some word of mouth recruiting produce a surprising volume of applications. These are screened by the Prison Commission and the Civil Service Commissioners, finally reduced to a short list for interview and decision by a board. Successful candidates are forthwith appointed. The ratio of applications to appointments in recent years has been in the order of twenty to one; the short lists consist of three names for each vacancy.

It is instructive to consider the channels which in the past were used for the recruitment of administrators. Two patterns can be discerned. First were the retired service officers who chose prisons for a second career. These were the men who carried out prison policy throughout the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth. A few are still in service. Second were the young enthusiasts who entered the service under the influence of the now almost legendary Sir Alexander Paterson who put them to work as Borstal housemasters. Many of these men have risen with the years to prison governorships. The effects which these two courses of administrative manpower have had on the policies and structures of prisons and Borstals are obvious. The sharp divisions between the administrators and the disciplinarians closely resemble the commissioned and non-commissioned grades of the military service. The familiar patterns of the public schools were built into the Borstals by the young housemasters who knew the structure from long experience of their own.

What patterns and influences are the new men bringing into the service? As an indication, the composition of the fifteenth (1958-59) class at the Wakefield Staff College is suggestive:

<i>Education</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>
University . . .	4	Over 40 . . .	3
Service schools . . .	2	30-39 . . .	6
Grammar schools . . .	6	20-29 . . .	6
Technical schools . . .	1		—
Elementary school . . .	2	Total . . .	15
Total . . .	15		

<i>Previous Employment</i>	<i>Number</i>
Retired service officers	4
Police	2
Business	1
Public Health	1
Prison officers	4
University students	3
Total	15

Each member of the 1958-59 class was interviewed at length concerning motivations for entering the service. There was a unanimous emphasis on a wish to 'help', to 'work with', or to 'guide' 'people'. Religious motivations were prominent with several, and appeared to be primary with two. For five men, the work of the Prison Service seemed to be 'worth while' or 'important' in contrast to whatever they had been doing or whatever alternative careers were open to them. One man put it this way:

'I wanted a job which was worth while, one in which what one is doing is worth doing in itself.'

Another:

'I had intended to enter one of the older professions, but I decided that I couldn't serve God in that way.'

Another:

'I thought I should enjoy doing the work that had to be done. It offers a freedom to do the job one wants to do, if one's training is in human relations. Administrative work is not likely to be *important*.'

Finally:

'I saw the advertisement in the press and thought that this would be a way of doing something positive in life.'

The prevalence of statements stressing the element of vocation was striking. Despite the formal Civil Service setting, despite the negative images of prisons, men are found who look ahead to careers of helping delinquents. No one

in this group said anything which suggested an interest in the use of power for self-gratification. A direct statement to that effect would have been unlikely. But a number of questions were asked which might have elicited a belief in crude methods of control, or a preference for authoritarian management of inmates. No such responses were forthcoming. All fifteen wanted first assignments in Borstals or training prisons, where the opportunities for helping are most clearly defined.

From this sample of recruits, we can infer that the service attracts to its administrative ranks a group composed of three streams. There is the retired military officer, now screened to take advantage of the positive aspects of military experience and to eliminate the time-servers and the power-operators. Although the employment of retired officers in the prisons has been the frequent target of derisory comment by critics of the Prison Commission, this source presents advantages on which it is worth while to dwell briefly. Contrary to some notions, military experience does not necessarily train officers to 'handle' men, not, at least, the kind of men to be found in prisons and Borstals. That phase of preparation can be dealt with in training and under supervision. But service experience does furnish a knowledge of the requirements of good administrative work, an understanding of line and staff organization, and experience in the training of subordinates. Where these assets are to be found, exaggerated notions about the similarity between 'other ranks' in the military milieu and the lads in the Borstal house can be corrected in training and in the vicissitudes to be encountered as time goes on.

The second stream flowing into the service comes from the universities. Here the factor of vocation was most obviously operative. None of the four men in the group had planned for very long to enter the Prison Service. Each was quite clear about the attractions of the service as a field where personality, intelligence and training could be combined to help a disadvantaged group. The presence of four such people in the class suggests that the Prison Commission might enlist more through closer contacts with University social service organizations and religious groups.

The third stream comes up from the ranks. If enough qualified men could be found from this source, the recruitment of direct entrants would be discontinued. The composition of this class demonstrates that this contingency is remote. Of the fifteen vacancies available, only four could be filled from the service. With this group some serious questions arise concerning present policy and its application. Direct entrants are appointed as assistant governors in advance of enrolment, but officer candidates must complete the course before a decision can be made about their promotion. This anomaly is the subject of vigorous and unfavourable comment on all sides, especially by the men directly concerned. From the number of officer

candidates who fail to be appointed after completing the course, it seems clear that appointments could not be made from this group before enrolment with the present methods of selection in force. Still, it seems that it should be possible to administer a sufficiently sensitive examination to maintain a standard of acceptance on which immediate appointments could be made, subject to completion of a probationary year. The failure of a candidate after six months of training is an expensive loss, both to the man and to the service. With the use of projective tests of personality and educational achievement tests such losses could be virtually eliminated. The occasional candidate on whom a chance is taken because of exceptional circumstances could be given his opportunity in the Staff College with explicit understandings about the required standard of performance both in the College and on the probationary appointment.

So much for the methods of selection and their results. The sample presented is suggestive of the quality of future leadership of English prisons. The range is extraordinarily wide, extending from men with rich experience of life and affairs to others whose opportunities for growth have been restricted. To bring them together in a joint living and learning experience lasting for six months implies the objective of achieving some homogeneity in a group in which unusual disparities are to be found. Whether it is wise to make this attempt might be the subject of further and intensive enquiry. Let us now examine the means by which the attempt is made.

TRAINING

The Prison Commission Staff College is located at Wakefield in buildings originally intended for the Imperial Training School for Prison and Borstal Officers. Overcrowded prisons brought about an overcrowded training school. The function of training officers had to be separated from the education of assistant governors. The Training School has been moved to a new site elsewhere in Wakefield. What remains is a residential college for staff training. Its facilities are also used for refresher courses for prison officers, conferences of professional groups in the service, special in-service training courses, and meetings of administrative staff. A steady traffic of officials and staff from all points in the service converges at Wakefield. Trainees are strategically placed to acquaint themselves with the philosophy, personalities and practice of the service.

Across the street is Wakefield Prison, for many years the bellwether establishment of the service. Pilot programmes are developed here, and research of many kinds is usually under way. The staff is complete in the professional categories and is kept that way. Its facilities are extensively used by the College for instruction and for practical demonstration. Within

easy commuting distance is the University of Leeds, with whose Department of Extra-Mural Studies the College has for many years collaborated. At present, two full days each week are provided by the University for the Staff College members.

The College is administered by the Principal, who is also responsible for the Training School. This position, of obviously critical importance to the service, is assigned to a Governor, Class II. On his staff are four Assistant Governors II (one of whom is assigned full time to the Staff College as a tutor), a Chief Officer, a number of principal officers seconded from other establishments to instruct in the Training School, and administrative, clerical and housekeeping staff. The Principal is responsible for the application of policy, development of curriculum and supervision of instruction. His chief assistant at the Staff College is the Tutor, who takes care of liaison with the University of Leeds, the detailed administration of the College, the development of special activities, the conduct of weekly tutorial sessions with each member, and some instruction.

These are the resources of the College. They are used for two curricula, a 'long' and a 'short' course, of six and three months' duration respectively. To the 'long' course are assigned the direct entrants and the prison officer candidates under the age of 35. The 'short' course, which has not been conducted during the current year, is intended for officer candidates over the age of 35. Our study is exclusively concerned with the 'long' course, the only one I could observe.

The curriculum can be divided into two phases, the instruction furnished by the University of Leeds, and the varied educational experiences mobilised at the Staff College itself. The university work consists of courses in criminal law, criminology, ethics, and English literature. It must be understood that the last two courses at the College were the first in which direct entrants were enrolled. The curriculum was designed for officer candidates, for whom it was thought desirable to provide both specific and general educational experiences. With the inclusion of the direct entrants, the programme has not been changed.

Nearly all of the 1958-59 class thought the University instruction was good. For the recent University graduates, it was not a challenging experience. Each of these men undertook independent studies. The usefulness of the courses in ethics and English was called into question by some members, but these doubts were balanced by praise for the purposeful instruction in law and criminology. The instructors agreed that generally the work was of good quality, in spite of some questions about the usefulness of subject matter. Most of the members made noteworthy progress. Two instructors questioned the heterogeneity of the class. One instructor thought

that this factor made it difficult to give sufficient attention to officer candidates. The other was doubtful of the contribution he was able to make, under the circumstances, to the university members.

The College itself offered a wide variety of educational experiences. These were of the following kinds:

(1) *Instruction by the Local Staff.* A wide range of instructional sequences, including *inter alia* prison administration and regulations, the work of the discipline staff, the conduct of physical training, psychology, casework, group work, and English social history.

(2) *Lectures by Visiting Officials.* Members of the Prison Commission, governors, and occasional authorities in various pertinent fields are invited to address the class.

(3) *Clinical Practice.* Under the supervision of the Principal Medical Officer, a psychiatrist, members are given experience in taking social histories and in conducting group meetings.

(4) *Tutorial Conferences.* Throughout the course the Staff Tutor meets weekly with each member. In these conferences the gaps are filled in, personal and educational problems are dealt with, and close familiarity with the student's progress is maintained.

(5) *Field Trips.* All the nearby Prison Commission establishments are visited. Observations are arranged at approved schools, attendance centres, industrial plants, collieries, and a variety of social and educational institutions. Even the ancient monuments and the more notable historic sites are included.

(6) *Attachments.* At the middle of the course, each student is attached for a week of observation at a prison or a Borstal. Attachments are also arranged with probation officers in the West Riding.

It will be seen that a determined effort was made to cram the six months with as broad a training experience as could be devised within the limits of time, place, and persons. To several of the class the results seemed to be open to criticism that profusion led to diffusion. For example:

'I thoroughly enjoyed the classes on English literature, but they weren't really useful. The whole course is bitty, there was a lot of time pleasantly wasted.'

'Too many governors came to talk to us. They all said mostly the same thing.'

'I feel the course falls down on the practical side. We didn't get enough on applications and adjudications.'

On the other hand, it was generally thought that the staff had done well in two respects: the orientation to the prison service, and the development of a group situation in which each man could learn from others. Consider-

able group solidarity was reached, despite the existence of at least three identifiable cliques. The common currency of ideas and attitudes was revealed in interview after interview in which similarities of ideas, attitudes, and aspirations were revealed. With considerable spontaneity, members voiced the feeling that the long experience of living and learning together, in spite of the range of education and experience, had been profoundly helpful:

‘What helped me most were the coffee cup arguments, the late night discussions in which we’d exchange views and attitudes. This all helped me to do away with my feeling that I had to know where I stand.’

Views about further training were mixed. Several expected to follow up work done at Wakefield with further reading. Some were hopeful that the Prison Commission would arrange opportunities for individual work at the clinics or at a university. Some hoped that sabbatical years abroad could be offered. Perhaps the most realistic were those who thought they’d had enough training for a while and that any further learning would take place on the job.

Finally, every man in the group (including the one who failed to be appointed) left with full confidence in his ability to succeed. All but one expected to reach eventually the grade of Governor, while three of the younger men believed that they would eventually qualify to be Prison Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners. The one exception, the oldest of the group, wanted to devote himself to pilot programmes with Borstal inmates or with young prisoners. It was notable that several men specifically hoped that they would eventually be governors of local prisons, mainly in the hope of improving them. No flaming zeal to reform here, but sensitivity to problems was general. And a problem stated is on its way to solution.

CRITIQUE

Here is a large investment in training intended at least to produce a supply of adequate assistant governors, some to arise eventually to higher things. How well does the plan fill present needs? What more could it do? What should be provided for future needs? To survey this investment is to ask at least these three questions. My observation, which of necessity has had to be less than exhaustive, also raises the question as to what methods of analysis should be employed to evaluate and improve the Staff College.

The Present Need. Thoughtful American prison administrators, ruefully contemplating the immense establishments bequeathed to them by a generation of thoughtless builders, generally agree that prison units should be small. Men do not thrive in herds. Only through the development of small group situations within the prison can the noxious anonymity of the mob be

counteracted. To an American observer, then, the enviable strength of the English prison is in the architecture and the administrative structure which conspire to keep groups comparatively small. In these units, contact between administrator and inmate can be direct. This contact is by and through the assistant governor. The assistant governor who takes full advantage of the potentialities of his position will have to function as a caseworker, a group worker, an administrator, a trainer of staff, and as criminologist.

Six months is not nearly long enough to produce an assistant governor fully proficient in all these fields. Could the Staff College do more than it does now? It can be said that at least some orientation in all these fields is now furnished, enough to make a thoughtful student aware of what has to be done and what will be needed to do it. But perhaps if some priorities are assigned in organizing instruction a more solid foundation can be afforded in those places where it is most needed.

First, it would seem, should be intensive instruction in casework offered by an instructor with training and experience in the discipline. At present this phase of the training is presided over by the Wakefield prison psychiatrist. Emphasis appears to be on the taking of social histories with follow-up observations. There is no training in counselling methods. While proficiency in the preparation of social histories is of obvious value in many respects, particularly to demonstrate the etiology of criminal behaviour, this is only a part of the casework expertise needed. The housemaster will find himself taking little of his time in history interviews; if he is going to be of real use he will need to be effective as a counsellor. Now caseworkers are best trained by caseworkers. An essential part of the education of any professional is the process of learning from a teacher who has reached the objective to which the pupil aspires. The teacher knows the problems and the solutions in acquiring a professional identity. He can provide in his professional self a model for the student to use as a guide to his own professional development. A psychiatrist is not a caseworker; his contribution to the development of good caseworkers is nearly as essential, but it is of an entirely different order. Caseworkers must collaborate with psychiatrists. They must know a modicum of psychopathology, they must be familiar with the psychiatrist's basic ideas and tools. For these reasons, formal introductory lectures in psychiatry and regular consultation during the course should be essential features.

Within the six months available, much can be done. The difficulties are great and we had better look at them. Training in casework for the field of corrections is new. Not many teachers of social work with experience in this field are to be found. For a while it might be necessary to make do with a teacher who would be learning whilst he taught. He might be an instructor

on the University of Leeds faculty, which would relate his subject-matter more clearly with the other professional disciplines which his students would be absorbing. He might be another member of the College staff, which would bring him closer to Wakefield Prison where the practical work which he would be supervising would be done. Either course would present advantages; the important thing is to make a start somewhere.

Another difficulty will be the assembly of teaching materials. A beginning has been made in the United States in building casebooks for students in this field. They would have to be adapted for the College. The American approach to this educational problem assumes that the student will have a foundation in generic social work. The members of the Staff College will be learning a special form of casework without a foundation in the general field. This cannot be helped, but this disadvantage should not discourage us from making full use of the applicable ideas of casework. This is a burden which should not fall on the instructor to bear alone. A working party, to consist of members of the College staff, interested professional people in the service, and professional teachers of social work, should be recruited to work out a syllabus, to assemble a casebook, and to consult with the College staff on the progress of the project. It is all very well to outline in a paragraph or two a large scale programme of this kind, skipping lightly over the formidable difficulties. Before the changes I am suggesting can be crystallized, many months of conferences, consultations, individual studies, and observation of progress will have to run their course. But a start should be made somewhere. An important consolation is that while the rewards will be great, the cost will be small.

A second priority for development of the Staff College might be in the area of group work. Here the issues are two. How much group theory should be taught, bearing in mind that in this rapidly developing field much apparently valuable theory has not yet been tested? Second, how should practical work in group counselling be taught?

As for group theory, it should be most valuable if a course of lectures at the University of Leeds could be offered. Time would suffice for a familiarization with the approach, the methods, and the ideas of sociology, as it pertains to small group relations. Even if much of the theoretical presentation would have to be hedged with caveats, still the value of the kind of ideas which sociology has to offer concerning small groups would be very great in preparing assistant governors for their tasks of leadership and training. Further, their work in group counselling must depend in some measure on their understanding of group theory. In many establishments they will be the principal consultants for group counsellors. Their consultations will be of much greater use if they are well grounded on theory.

It has been most pleasant for a Californian to discover in England so much familiarity with and use of the work of Dr. Norman Fenton in the field of group counselling. His publications, prepared with the specific context of the Californian prisons, are an excellent starting point for assistant governors about to embark on responsibilities which will inevitably include group counselling. It seems reasonable that after these texts are read and discussed, members of the College should proceed to work with groups of their own under the supervision of a College staff member, perhaps the Staff Tutor, perhaps an assistant governor on the prison staff seconded to the College for this purpose. It should be stressed that this training will be of the most value if it is carried on in the context of the assistant governor's rôle as a supervisor of group counsellors.

The curriculum changes which are here suggested will require compensating changes. Either the course will have to be longer or subject-matter now included must be deleted. It may well be that six months is not enough. If the course must be prolonged, two considerations can be advanced in extenuation. First, the prison service is a function exclusive to government. Unlike other professions which serve many clients, only the Prison Commission has any need for assistant governors. It is proper then that their education should be the responsibility of the Prison Commission, with that body insisting on the best preparation possible of candidates for its schools. Second, a Staff College member of the average age considered in this study, 31 years, has nearly thirty years of service to give. Even a full year of training at the threshold is a modest investment of time and resources when the demands to be made in the years ahead are considered.

I have not touched on the composition of the Staff College faculty. The development of its curriculum will determine its requirements. But two considerations stand out as principles to be observed in the further development of the College. First, the Tutor's load should be gauged according to reasonable appraisals of the capacity of anyone to maintain his span of interest, attention, and control. A Tutor who is teaching, administering and conducting tutorial conferences will be stretched to the limit in working with fifteen students. If there are to be more members, there should be more tutors. And tutorial instruction is an obvious necessity when the objective is to bring a group of trainees as heterogeneous as we have seen to a uniform minimum level of service.

Second, the College should be brought as close to the rest of the service as possible. A good deal is being done in this direction with visiting officials participating in seminars with the members of the College. But it is perplexing to discover, as I have done, that many governors are unfamiliar with the College's programme and services. It would seem that there should be

a regular exchange of ideas and experiences between the College and the rest of the service. Perhaps a committee of governors and other senior officials could be formed to meet regularly for consultation and comparison of results with expectations. College staff members should in turn be enabled to visit establishments of all kinds as frequently as their teaching schedules permit so as to see what results they are getting and what the realities of the services's problems are.

To an American, coming from a country where training of the kind I have described is virtually unknown, the Staff College appears to be a magnificent opportunity to maintain and advance the high standard of service for which British prisons are renowned throughout the world. The frequently-voiced dissatisfaction of the press and the public with the condition of the prisons is as good a sign as the eagerness of prison staffs to improve their work. Both these factors are essential to support the kind of change which I am proposing here. They should also be brought to the support of more remote changes. Here I am thinking of the potential rôle of the Staff College as a centre for penological research, perhaps in collaboration at times with the Cambridge Institute of Criminology. For the present capacity of the social sciences in England to make fundamental contributions to research in the field of delinquency is very great, as a review of recent projects will show. It seems anomalous that the Staff College should not be in the mainstream of research endeavour to the eventual enrichment of both research and training. It may well be that one of the first enterprises of such a collaboration would be the exhaustive analysis of the optimum requirements of training for prison administration. To such an analysis, I hope this paper points the way.

AMNESIA AND HOMICIDE

A Study of 50 Murderers¹

BY BRIAN A. O'CONNELL (LONDON)

This study, derived from an examination of 50 murderers², attempts to throw light on the nature of the amnesias that are so frequently associated with major crime. The term 'amnesia' is used here to indicate an alleged interruption of consciousness, complete or partial, with alleged inability of the accused to recall his actions during that time. It is not applied to those cases where the accused, even though he may deny knowledge of the crime, does not claim interruption of consciousness.

METHOD

Of the 50 murderers under investigation it was found that 20 had claimed at one time or another to have no memory, or at best only the haziest recollection of the actions that had led to their arrest. This group of 20 was compared with the other group of 30 who had made no claim to amnesia. In an attempt to establish what factors seemed to promote the development of amnesia, the two groups were compared under the following heads:— (i) diagnosis, (ii) previous personality, (iii) family history, (iv) schooling, (v) intelligence, (vi) work record, (vii) criminal record, (viii) precipitating factors to the crime, (ix) electroencephalograph record, (x) the presence or absence of apparent emotional perturbation following the crime.

It may be remarked at the outset that noteworthy differences between the two groups emerged only under three heads—intelligence, previous personality and precipitating factors. These and the other aspects investigated are discussed presently.

AMNESIA AS A MENTAL PHENOMENON

Extremes in the medico-legal attitude towards a plea of amnesia by the accused are represented on the one hand by those who see in every such

¹ The cases forming the subject matter of this paper were all seen originally by Dr. Desmond Curran, to whom I am greatly indebted for allowing me access to his records. I have to thank both him and Dr. Maurice Partridge for their most helpful advice. Any expression of view in this paper is personal.

² All examined prior to the introduction of the Homicide Act of 1957.

plea a lurking epilepsy and on the other by those who, like Rymer (1942), see in the development of the amnesia an admission of guilt and an attempt to deceive, and who may be disposed to argue that it should weigh against rather than in favour of the accused. Before discussing the present findings, it may be helpful to remind ourselves of the conventional division into three stages of the processes involved in remembering, namely registration, retention and recall. The present findings may then be viewed against this background and the medico-legal implications more clearly appreciated.

(a) *Registration*. That which has not been registered will not subsequently be remembered. When for any reason attention is impaired, registration of events is less likely to occur. Attention may be impaired in the following conditions:—

(i) *In Organic States*. In certain organically determined conditions, e.g. alcoholic and other drug intoxications, epilepsy, head injury and hypoglycaemia, varying degrees of inattention and failure to register will occur. The inattention is one aspect of a state of altered consciousness, which can range from the most subtle clouding to dense coma. The extent of the subsequent amnesia will be related to the degree of clouding.

(ii) *In Psychosis*. In certain forms of insanity, attention may be so severely impaired that there is little subsequent memory for the period. Such may occur in the self-absorption of melancholia, or the bemused perplexity of some types of schizophrenia.

(iii) *In Acute Emotion*. In states of acute emotional perturbation, such as panic, peripheral stimuli have less interest for us and are therefore less likely to be registered.

(b) *Retention*. Gross failure to retain previously registered material occurs only in conditions involving organic brain damage, and is always accompanied by some or all of the other signs of dementia—disorientation, disturbance of grasp, characteristic changes in mood and personality and so on. In these conditions recent memories are more severely affected than remote ones. Ritchie Russell (1958) suggests an interesting explanation of this latter point. He believes that retention must depend upon a continuous repetition of the neuronal discharges involved in the original registration. The memory thus becomes strengthened with time and therefore more resistive to brain damage. By contrast, recently registered material has not had time, as it were, to become firmly entrenched. Clearly in organic brain damage there may be combined failure to register and to retain.

(c) *Recall*. An event may be forgotten today and remembered tomorrow. Clearly it has been registered and retained but it could not be *recalled* at the appropriate time. Gross failures of recollection are not organically but emotionally determined, and are an exaggeration of the tendency found

in most people to forget the disagreeable and the discreditable. Such 'hysterical' amnesia finds its fullest expression in those persons who claim to have no memory of their previous existence or even their own identity. Even the apparently trivial lapses of recollection in everyday experience are, by some psychologists, regarded as significant.

AMNESIA AND MAJOR CRIMES

In the present study of murderers, of the various aspects investigated, three—intelligence, personality and precipitating factors to the crime—bore a relation to the development of amnesia.

(i) *The Rôle of Intelligence.* Whereas the great majority of the accused (41 out of 50) had had only elementary schooling, it was clear that they were not all of the same intelligence. It seemed that the more stupid persons were more likely to develop amnesia.

The incidence of an average or higher than average intelligence was, respectively, 25 out of 30 (83 per cent.) in those who did not develop amnesia, and 8 out of 20 (40 per cent.) in those who did. This would suggest that alleged amnesia is the easiest immediate method of defence, possibly encouraged by a naïve hope that guilt will not be attached if memory is absent.

(ii) *The Rôle of Personality.* Of the various types encountered, the hysterical personality (characterized by traits ranging from a persistently immature, shallow, egocentric and histrionic mode of behaviour, to the capacity to develop and use symptoms for personal advantage), was the only one to show a special relation to the development of amnesia.

The incidence of hysterical personality was, respectively, 3 out of 30 (10 per cent.) in those who did not claim amnesia, and 10 out of 20 (50 per cent.) in those who did. Since the hysterical personality has a well-marked capacity for removing, by repression, whatever may be disagreeable from the conscious mind, this liability to develop amnesia is not surprising. Hysterical amnesia, as opposed to merely simulated loss of memory, always involves repression, which is an active process of banishment from the conscious mind. Although this is more easily achieved by the hysterical personality than by other types, such achievement is evidently not the exclusive prerogative of the hysteric, but can occur in other types under sufficient stress. Considering the gravity of the predicaments that are involved in this series, it might be considered surprising that amnesia did not occur more often. Yet its incidence is slightly higher than in the series reported by Leitch (1958) with 31 per cent. in a series of 51 murderers, and by Guttmacher (1955) with about 33 per cent in a series of 36 persons convicted of homicide. It seemed that the majority of these people dealt

with their problem, not by developing amnesia through the active process of repression, but rather by isolating and ignoring the experience although not forgetting it—a simple and passive disregard rather than the more active refusal to recognize.

If it is assumed that the development of hysterical amnesia is designed, however unconsciously, to secure personal comfort in adversity, or at least to reduce discomfort, the fact emerges from this study that simple disregard—an apparently passive process and therefore the more easily achieved—is almost equally effective. Thus out of the total of 50 convicted, no fewer than 41 showed an absence of physiological disturbance in custody, in the sense that they ate and slept well and gained steadily in weight—sometimes as much as two stones. The occurrence of this reaction was only slightly more common in those who developed amnesia than in those who did not, 90 per cent. and 77 per cent. respectively.

The following case illustrates this capacity for isolating and then disregarding the memory.

Case 1. A single man was charged with the murder of two women. He was an unreliable individual of good intelligence with a long history of psychopathic behaviour. In custody he slept and ate well and gained weight. He was animated and showed no concern for his crimes or the victims. He remarked: 'When things worry me I let them drift into the background and there they stay. I don't know if I put them there or not. It is just like putting something into a compartment inside a safe and locking it away from the rest of things. I am likely to worry more as to whether I am likely to worry about things.'

HYSTERICAL AND MALINGERED AMNESIA

Theoretically, hysterical amnesia involves a repression into the unconscious mind of the relevant experience, which the subject is then unable to recall. The differentiation of such from malingered amnesia has considerably and perhaps unduly exercised psychiatrists in the past. Most authorities deprecate the attempt to create a sharp division between simulated and hysterical amnesia, believing that in any case the forgotten memories are not far from consciousness and are prone to reappear when circumstances are more favourable. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the difference between malingered and hysterical amnesia is one of degree rather than of kind. (Gillespie 1936, Wexberg 1930, Kanzer 1939, Parfitt and Carlyle Gall 1944, Leitch 1948, Wilson and Rupp 1950). Curran (1944) remarked on the considerable reduction in claimed amnesia among Naval ratings returning late from leave when it had been made clear that loss of memory was a worse offence than loss of kit, nor of greater medical interest.

As will be seen presently the issue, so far as responsibility is concerned, is largely of academic interest.

(iii) *The Role of Precipitating Factors.* So far, attention has been drawn to the rôle in the development of amnesia of (i) intelligence and (ii) personality—whether this amnesia be truly hysterical or plainly malingered. If these were the only factors operating one might be tempted to dismiss all alleged amnesia in criminal cases as a face-saving device and as such of little importance, but this is not necessarily so.

The first stage in the function of memory is registration and, for this to occur, attention must be relatively unimpaired. Where attention is much impaired, registration and therefore subsequent remembering will be adversely affected. This has been demonstrated in the present series. The precipitating factors investigated were those which might have been expected to impair or narrow attention. Obvious possibilities like epilepsy, head injury and hypoglycaemia (all discussed below) did not seem (with the possible exception of Case 5 as well as Case 2), to account for the development of amnesia in the present series. Specific inquiry was then made for evidence of associated alcoholic intoxication, sexual excitement or gross rage reaction. Inquiry for the last two forms of disturbance was prompted by Kinsey's (1953) observations on the effect of sexual excitement on attention and those of Dembo and Calloway (1958) on the effects of anxiety on attention.

To avoid confusion the results are presented in tabular form:—

<i>Specific Precipitating Factor</i>	<i>Of 30 non-amnesic cases</i>	<i>Of 20 amnesic cases</i>
Alcoholic intoxication .	4	6
Sexual excitement .	5	8
Gross rage reaction .	8	10

It will be appreciated that more than one precipitant might be involved in the same case. These findings emphasize that defects of registration may have emotional as well as organic causation.

OTHER ASPECTS INVESTIGATED

It has been mentioned that none of the other seven aspects investigated (listed on page 261) bore any special relation to the development of amnesia in this series. Thus no one diagnosis was preponderant in either the amnesic or the non-amnesic group. Of the total of 50 cases, 20 were found to be psychotic, (e.g. schizophrenia, manic depressive psychosis), but there was no greater tendency to amnesia among them than among the non-psychotic.

It has sometimes been asserted that schizophrenics do not develop amnesia, owing to their flattened affect; this has not been borne out here, for of the 8 schizophrenics, 3 did develop amnesia. Again, of 5 established epileptics, 3 claimed amnesia and 2 did not. And, although Hopwood and Snell (1933) regarded a psychopathic inheritance as predisposing to amnesic developments, the figures in this series give no such indication. Criminality, mental disorder, alcoholism and previously abnormal behaviour were equally common in both groups, whether in their family history or their own personal history.

DIFFERENTIATION OF ORGANIC FROM PSYCHOGENIC AMNESIA

The main problem is to distinguish those cases where the amnesia arises from an organically determined inability to register or retain (*e.g.* in epilepsy or dementia) from those where the amnesia is psychogenic, whether hysterical or malingered.

Some of the points of importance in this differential diagnosis are presented and illustrated, where possible, from the present series.

(a) *Organic Amnesia.* The likely organic causes are those which lead to confusional states, viz. epilepsy, hypoglycaemia, intoxication, head injury or cerebral deterioration. Where any of these is involved it will be of cardinal importance to establish whether or not confusion was present *at the time of the crime*. This may be gauged to some extent by the apparent purposiveness or otherwise of the crime, by the neatness of its execution and by the antecedent and subsequent behaviour of the accused.

(i) *Intoxication.* The most difficulty is likely to be found where amnesia is claimed owing to alleged intoxication. Even were blood alcohol estimations available, they would hardly clarify the issue, since they may not accurately reflect the degree of alcoholic intoxication (le Maire 1956). Other types of drug intoxication offer the same difficulties.

(ii) *Head Injury.* In cases of head injury the possibilities are: (a) that the crime was committed in the course of a more or less immediate post-traumatic delirium or clouding of consciousness; (b) that it occurred as the result of post-traumatic cerebral deterioration with features similar to those described above; (c) that it occurred in the course of a post-traumatic epileptic fit. In the first of these eventualities the diagnosis may be very difficult in the absence of adequate witnesses; in the second a history should be available from other sources, as in other cases of cerebral deterioration; the third is considered together with epilepsy.

(iii) *Epilepsy.* Epilepsy has often been pleaded in the past (prior to the Homicide Act) as a defence to a charge of murder, for which the accused was claiming amnesia, the amnesia being urged as proof that the crime

took place during an actual attack when the accused was confused and therefore not responsible. It cannot surprise us that a person with a history of epilepsy, post-traumatic or otherwise, should have put forward, either spontaneously or after consultation, a plea of amnesia for a crime for which he might have been 'legally' responsible. But even if the accused be an undisputed epileptic, the issue of guilt, in the M'Naghten sense, was not thereby settled since the crime might not have been related to an actual epileptic attack with disturbance of consciousness. The whole circumstances of the crime must be considered. The following cases from this series illustrate the point.

Case 2. A single man picked up a strange woman in a public house, had little further memory of the evening, and woke up in the morning to find her lying strangled beside him. She had been dead for some time. There was no evidence of sexual interference. When he saw his name in the papers some days later he surrendered to the police but could give no account of his actions at the relevant time. His history revealed that, following a head injury some years previously, he had been having regular epileptic fits of classical kind. There was an authenticated account of an earlier fit apparently precipitated by sexual excitement. His crime was considered to have taken place in an epileptic attack.

Case 3. A middle-aged man, following on a series of tempestuous rows, murdered the woman with whom he had been living. The latest row had taken place on the day of the crime and during it he was overheard to threaten that he would kill her. He hid the body in a cupboard, took some clothes which he sold for money to buy drinks, and then made good his escape. When arrested he said that he had had a blackout and had no memory of killing her, nor of putting the body in a cupboard. He had suffered from epilepsy for many years and the E.E.G. record was compatible with this diagnosis. He had been an irritable and bad-tempered man most of his life. The defence contended that he had carried out his attack in the course of an epileptic fit while in a state of gross confusion. Medical evidence was called in rebuttal to show that the crime was most unlikely to have been committed during an epileptic fit, since the murder related to the earlier threat, while the events preceding the crime, the crime itself, and the ensuing actions all formed a connected sequence of events with logical development.

The second of these crimes (Case 3) showed none of the disruption of the stream of consciousness and the interpolated irrational activity which characterizes the epileptic fit or equivalent, arising as they do on the basis of abnormal cerebral discharges which are spasmodic, and foreign to the regular cerebral activity, bearing little relation to that which goes before or after. This brings us to a consideration of the value in this problem of the electro-encephalograph.

ELECTRO-ENCEPHALOGRAPH EXAMINATION

It has been made clear that the whole circumstances of the crime must

be considered and that, of itself, the result of E.E.G. examination is of little value in determining the significance of amnesia in a particular case. It should also be remembered that some 15 per cent. of epileptics have a normal E.E.G. and that a further 10 to 15 per cent. of persons, who have never shown clinical epileptic phenomena, have a typically epileptic E.E.G. Further, a high proportion of the psychopathic population (which may be expected to be well represented in any 'criminal' group) have abnormal E.E.G. records, generally of a kind thought to represent a defect of maturation. In individual cases there may be difficulty in distinguishing such from an epileptic record, although in aggregate the distinction may not present great difficulty. Gibbs, Bloomberg and Bagchi (1942) found in a prison population some 30 per cent. incidence of abnormality in the E.E.G. records compared with 10 per cent. in a control group. They remarked that the incidence of abnormality was no higher among murderers than among thieves.

In the present series, where an E.E.G. was available, the incidence of reported abnormality was high in both those who developed amnesia (of the 13 available records, 7 or 54 per cent. were abnormal) and in those who did not do so (of the 17 available records, 11 or 65 per cent. were considered to be abnormal).

Case 4. A young man, who had been on very bad terms with two of his relations murdered them both in brutal fashion. He was alleged to have threatened to do so in order to get money, and in fact already to have taken a considerable sum. After the crime, he was quickly apprehended by the police but had already tried to destroy his clothing which was blood-stained. He denied any knowledge of the crime and produced a false alibi. This he changed when damaging evidence was called. He then implied that the crime had been committed by a burglar and later tried to implicate his brother-in-law. His E.E.G. gave an epileptic record. There had never at any time been any clinical evidence of epilepsy.

The problem is perhaps less urgent than it might seem, since in the etiology of major crime it is generally considered that epilepsy seldom plays a significant rôle. Curran (1944) thought that epilepsy was very rarely a cause of loss of memory for crime, and Leitch (1948) considered that homicidal assault during an epileptic disturbance of consciousness was very rare. Lennox (1943) could not recall a single case of rape, murder or attempted murder among 5,000 of his epileptic patients, and he quotes others of similar experience.

(iv) *Hypoglycaemia.* Normal functioning of the brain demands an adequate supply of glucose. If the glucose concentration in the blood falls below a certain critical level (which varies with the individual and with his circumstances), cerebral function will be deranged. This derangement may manifest itself as confusion with subsequent amnesia. Spontaneous hypo-

glycaemia may arise on a functional basis, as in so called psychosomatic hypoglycaemia, or in the form which sometimes follows gastric surgery; or it may arise on an organic basis as with islet cell tumours of the pancreas and, incidentally, in hepatic disease, pituitary and adrenocortical hypofunction, and rare hypothalamic lesions. The diagnosis, apart from those conditions in which the hypoglycaemia is only incidental, is often difficult to establish. It will rest on physical examination, the natural history of the attacks, the level of fasting blood sugar both on standard diet and after extended periods of starvation, the results of glucose tolerance tests and serial E.E.G. examinations. If errors are to be avoided, Garland (1958) points out, repeated blood glucose estimations, if necessary after prolonged starvation and exercise, must be carried out and glucose tolerance tests may have to be extended to the 4th and 5th hour. If this is not done, many of the functional hypoglycaemias, with a normal fasting blood sugar will be missed (Conn and Seltzer, 1955). In the present connection, the aim of the investigation of an alleged case of hypoglycaemia is to reproduce as nearly as possible the physiological conditions obtaining at the time of the crime, to ascertain whether such conditions lead to a state of hypoglycaemia, and to establish if such state is associated with any alteration in the individual's conscious level. In spite of such elaborate investigation, it will be conceded that the conditions are artificial and cannot with certainty reflect the state of the individual's mind at some time in the past.

Case 5. A young married man, following an enforced starvation of three days, murdered, for no reason, one of his children with whom he had been on the best of terms. He had no memory of his actions, but recalled waking up to find himself covered in sweat. He had on a previous occasion become acutely delirious in response to a mild toxic condition. On the present occasion he was found to have an abnormal E.E.G. of constitutional type even under ordinary conditions. The abnormality in his E.E.G. became more marked as his blood sugar fell and was associated with confusion. His cerebral function was presumed to be abnormally vulnerable, and it was thought that the relative starvation had induced a pathologically low blood sugar with resulting effects on his level of consciousness.

It is seen, therefore, that in the differentiation of 'organic' from 'psychogenic' amnesia, the first step is the exclusion by a careful history and clinical examination, especially of the central nervous system, of any likely physical cause. The clinical examination may have to be supplemented by special electrical or chemical techniques, but the aid to be expected from these techniques is limited.

(b) *Psychogenic Amnesia.* Failure to demonstrate plausible physical causes for the amnesia will suggest the probability that it is of psychogenic

origin. The probability is further increased by the presence of certain positive features, which tend to characterize the psychogenic variety of amnesia. They are as follows:—

(i) *An admission that to recover his memory would upset the accused.*

Case 6. A middle-aged man was credited with the murder of a number of individuals, each murder showing considerable premeditation and planning and followed by elaborate and cunning attempts to conceal his actions. He claimed an amnesia for these crimes, saying: 'I think there is something in my mind but I can't get it, that's what's hurting. It seems to be forming a picture and then before it gets clear it gets all jumbled up again. My head hurts as the picture is getting clear, and that is what stops me getting it clear.'

Case 7. A young man murdered his girl-friend after she had rejected him in favour of somebody else. He immediately surrendered to the police but later claimed an amnesia for the crime, saying: 'I seem to have buried everything about my case. My memory improves but in my efforts to recollect what happened, I get so horrified that I just can't remember anything.'

(ii) *Variations in the account of the beginning and the end of the amnesic period given to different people and at different times.*

Case 8. The accused man had murdered his wife in the course of one of many quarrels. He then sent for the doctor saying that his wife had collapsed after a bilious attack. He later told the police that he had fallen asleep in the usual way and woke up to find her cold. He later amended this story and maintained he had put his wife on the bed, that he had then had a blackout, and had come to to find himself leaning over his dead wife. At a third examination he finally claimed that his wife had attacked him and had knocked him out.

(iii) *Evidence of markedly hysterical personality.*

Case 9. Following some rather trivial disagreement, a youth murdered one of his associates and then tried to make his escape. On arrest he claimed to have only the haziest memory of the affair, saying that it all sounded like a dream. He was a dull youth who had, on previous occasions, been admitted to hospital following hysterical suicidal gestures. The E.E.G. was compatible with a diagnosis of epilepsy, but there was no authenticated history of such a condition. He had, however, been boarded from the Army following a 'fit' which was generally thought to be functional. This was the only such 'fit' he had had.

(iv) *A tendency for the amnesia to extend and cover great periods of the individual's life—a total amnesia for previous existence and identity is virtually pathognomic of a psychogenic mechanism.*

No such 'global' amnesia appeared among these cases.

(v) *A sudden and dramatic recovery of memory.*

Case 10. A young man murdered a woman by strangling her. On being questioned by the police, he was alleged to have said that he wished to confess to

the crime, but later claimed a complete amnesia for the period of the crime, saying that he had had previous blackouts. On the second interview he said that his memory had suddenly returned, and he went on to give a complete and authentic account of the crime.

With regard to the last point (v), it is clear that amnesia for events which have either not been registered or else not retained must necessarily be permanent. It is well to remember the observation of Hopwood and Snell (1933) that a memory may be feigned as well as an amnesia and thus, for example, a patient with a real organically determined amnesia might affect to remember events if it appeared to serve his purpose, *e.g.* release from hospital observation and avoidance of psychiatric disposal. Alternatively, and this is especially the case in criminal practice, he might have heard the details so frequently at different hearings that he comes to believe that he actually remembers them.

It is the concurrence of several of the points listed above rather than the presence of any single one of them, which should influence a decision on the probable nature of the amnesia.

(c) *Combined Forms of Amnesia.* Different types of amnesia may overlap, so that a combined organic and psychogenic amnesia may be found. Thus, for example, a genuine organic amnesia associated with head injury may be hysterically elaborated and prolonged for personal advantage.

Case 11. A middle-aged and rather immature man with a bad family history of depression became panicky prior to his marriage and murdered his fiancée. He then jumped through the window and suffered severe head injuries, being rendered unconscious for several days. He claimed an extensive amnesia covering the period of the crime but in a purposively selective way. He admitted to a memory of the victim protesting in a terrified manner at his actions, but he could not remember what these actions had been. His amnesia tended to extend with time and he remarked: 'I hope the memory of the night won't return. I just couldn't stand it.'

MEDICO-LEGAL IMPLICATIONS

In cases of homicide, responsibility will be judged according to the M'Naghten Rules, or, if diminished responsibility is pled, according to the provisions of Section 2 of the Homicide Act 1957. In the light of these measures a plea of amnesia will be assessed.

Amnesia, the result either of failure of retention or a failure to recall (hysterical or malingered), cannot *of itself* establish a defence under the M'Naghten Rules, since subsequent forgetting of the act does not affect the issue of responsibility if it be clear that, at the material time, the accused was not 'labouring under such a defect of reason, from disease of the mind,

as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, that he did not know it was wrong.' ³

A new factor has, however, been introduced by the Homicide Act 1957. 'Where a person kills or is a party to the killing of another, he shall not be convicted of murder if he was suffering from such abnormality of mind (whether arising from a condition of arrested or retarded development of mind, or any inherent causes, or induced by disease or injury), as substantially impaired his mental responsibility for his acts and omissions in doing or being a party to the killing.' The Act provides that where the defence is made out, the jury may convict of manslaughter instead of murder.

Thus, a failure of retention, if it were to arise, for example, in the course of cerebral deterioration, might lead to a plea of diminished responsibility in view of the mental state of the accused, even though he were adjudged to have been 'M'Naghten sane' at the material time. In the past such cases would almost certainly have been respited after medical inquiry, or they might have been found unfit to plead in the first instance—such disposal is, of course, still available. Less plausibly perhaps, amnesia due to a gross failure to recall, if such degree of repression were indicative of a morbidly hysterical personality, might prompt also a plea of diminished responsibility, although the chances of success would presumably be slender.

Medico-legally, the important task has been to distinguish those cases of amnesia which arise not from a failure of retention or of recollection, but from an original failure of registration, since this may reflect such a state of altered consciousness at the material time as to be incompatible with a full knowledge of the act or the formation of intent. Such might be the case in any of the conditions previously mentioned—intoxication, epilepsy, head injury, hypoglycaemia and dementia. No doubt the plea of diminished responsibility will be entered with increasing frequency in such cases, since in this kind of case the defence is easier to establish in this way. The Homicide Act speaks of 'abnormality of the mind', while the M'Naghten Rules specify 'disease of the mind'. It remains to be seen how the former term will be interpreted. Indeed it is in just such cases as epilepsy that we are brought face to face with the gross inadequacies of the M'Naghten

³ *The Podola Case*. Since this paper was completed, the case of Gunther Podola has attracted a great deal of attention. The defence sought to establish that the accused was unfit to plead by virtue of the fact that he was suffering from hysterical amnesia and was thus rendered incapable of instructing his counsel in his proper defence. Having listened to conflicting medical evidence, the jury was asked to decide if the accused man was 'malingering' or if he had 'a genuine hysterical amnesia'. They decided that he was malingering. In the event, the point was irrelevant, since the Court of Criminal Appeal subsequently laid it down that hysterical amnesia did not render a man unfit to plead. It may be thought that this is an expedient ruling for the future, since the task set to the jury of distinguishing between hysterical and malingered amnesia is more often than not incapable of resolution.

Rules. Who would deny that such people are abnormal and not wholly responsible and yet, as appears in this series, few will ever be covered by the letter of the M'Naghten Rules. These Rules will still apply where the crime occurs during an actual epileptic attack, but apart from such rare occurrences the responsibility in the case of an epileptic is likely to be assessed under Section 2 of the Homicide Act. Similar considerations may apply to many other conditions such as head injury, hypoglycaemia and so on. It will be remembered that extreme emotional excitement may also impair attention and registration and contribute to the development of amnesia. The diminished responsibility clause is, however, unlikely to cover such cases, no matter what the degree of excitement (short of psychosis), sexual or otherwise, since the courts may well be likely to hold that emotional expression is within the individual's control or that it might be, in contrast say to epilepsy, which is manifestly not under such control. A recognition that emotional factors may impair registration should, however, temper assertions that all such cases are due to organic causes.

Where a person, freely and for personal indulgence and being aware of their possible effects, takes alcohol or other drugs, he is generally considered to be responsible for crime which he may carry out in the ensuing state of simple intoxication, although drug-induced insanity will be a defence. According to the decision of the House of Lords in 1920, and referred to by East (1949): (*a*) insanity, whether produced by alcohol or otherwise, is a defence to the crime charged; (*b*) evidence of drunkenness which renders the accused incapable of forming the specific intent essential to constitute the crime should be taken into consideration with the other facts proved in order to determine whether or not he had this intent; (*c*) evidence of drunkenness falling short of a proved incapacity in the accused to form the intent necessary to constitute the crime and merely establishing that his mind was affected by drink so that he more readily gave way 'to such violent passion' does not rebut the presumption that a man intends the natural consequences of his act; (*d*) the test of criminal responsibility is not the same in cases of drunkenness as in the case of insanity; the jury should not be asked to consider whether, if the accused knew what he was doing, he also knew that he was doing wrong.

SUMMARY

1. This study, derived from an examination of 50 persons convicted of murder, attempts to clarify the nature of the amnesias associated with major crime.
2. Of the 50 cases, 20 had claimed amnesia, complete or partial, for the crime.

3. A detailed comparison of the amnesic with the non-amnesic group suggests that in this series amnesic developments are promoted by: (a) dull intelligence—present in 60 per cent. of the amnesic and 17 per cent. of the non-amnesic; (b) hysterical personality—50 per cent. of the amnesic and 10 per cent. of the non-amnesic; (c) associated factors in the form of alcoholic intoxication, rage reaction and sexual excitement.

4. These factors are discussed in the light of conventional psychological theory of memory and the rôle of emotional factors in producing narrowing of attention is stressed.

5. The majority of these cases dealt with their problem, not by developing amnesia through the active process of repression, but by isolating and ignoring the experience—a passive disregard rather than a refusal to recognize.

6. This latter mechanism appeared to be equally effective in producing a state of emotional equilibrium. Thus, of the 50 cases, 41 showed no physiological disturbance in custody, in the sense that they ate and slept well and gained weight; and this reaction was found in 90 per cent. of the amnesics and 77 per cent. of the non-amnesics.

7. Problems encountered in the differentiation of the organic from the psychogenic variety of amnesia are illustrated, and the difficulty (and legal irrelevance) of the distinction between hysterical and malingered amnesia is emphasized.

8. Attention is drawn to the difficulties arising in cases of epilepsy and to the limitations of the E.E.G. in this connection. Of five epileptics in this series, three claimed amnesia. Where an E.E.G. was available, it was abnormal in 54 per cent. of the amnesics and 65 per cent. of the non-amnesics.

9. The medico-legal implications of a plea of amnesia are considered in the light of the M'Naghten Rules and of the Homicide Act 1957. The deficiencies of the M'Naghten Rules in cases such as epilepsy are stressed.

10. The present investigation lends support to the view that, excluding the possible contribution of alcoholic intoxication, amnesia for a criminal act is likely to be of emotional rather than organic origin. In this series, at any rate, epileptic confusion was of little etiological significance.

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EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 244)

group, constricts him socially in a complete manner. He no longer belongs and the symbolic gesture of flight is not solely to avoid the condemnation and its consequences, but the alienation itself. This means obliteration of the offending self. Memory, which means personal integrity, the acceptance of all socially acceptable ego functions, is a social attribute. In the witness box that person is most suspect who claims to have forgotten or who distorts. He is never excused on the grounds of emotional excitement consequent upon his rôle as a witness then and there. The realization of having killed another in passion or through meditated hate has an effect analogous to the *catastrophic reaction* witnessed in certain brain injuries and in senility. Yet it can, as a psycho-neural phenomenon, be extended to other conditions in which suddenly or cumulatively the relationship of the subject to his environment is suddenly restricted. He can neither meet its demands by escape nor by explanation. A dissociation follows which is analogous to, if not identical with, hysterical dissociations. The man is trapped within his own functionably restricted mental apparatus. The denial is not dissimilar to the agnosia registered in some profound neural organic diseases. This condition, as against the hysterical (a very suspect type), should be within the range of testability by analytic history-taking and by procedures made familiar to us in neurological enquiries where catastrophic reaction occurs.

The issue of fitness to plead will depend perhaps not only on the organic issue involved but, excluding such considerations, upon the degree to which the amnesia, however encapsulated, does on close inspection show that other mental functions are severely involved. The hysterical character is not typified by dissociation phenomena only. Concentration on them alone can be grossly misleading.

A CASE OF MATRICIDE—PATRICIDE

By KENNETH H. RAIZEN (NEW YORK)

In the opinion of the author, the following psychiatric study of a young man involved in the crime of matricide and patricide will add to our present knowledge of the psychological factors associated with homicide.¹ For obvious reasons, pseudonyms have been used throughout when referring to the patient or his relatives.

THE CRIME

In August 1953, Dr. and Mrs. A. were found dead on the kitchen floor of their apartment. Two empty champagne glasses and a partially filled bottle of champagne were on a nearby table. The coroner's examination revealed excessive amounts of cyanide in the two bodies; the conclusion reached at the time was that the deaths were by suicide due to ingestion of poison.

Four months later, the District Attorney's office received information that the deaths of the couple were caused by homicide. The informant implicated one Granger B. and one James A., the only son of the deceased. Both men were arrested and within a few hours Granger B. confessed to having associated with James A. who committed the crime by placing lethal amounts of potassium cyanide in the champagne he served his parents. James A. acknowledged Granger's statements to be true. Subsequently, they were brought before the Magistrates' Court, where they were both remanded to a large metropolitan hospital for psychiatric evaluation.

James A. James was seen to be a tall, asthenic, red-haired, myopic young man, 22 years of age, but who appeared four or five years older. He was noted at the time of admission to have acne pustules on his face and to have large superficial, sutured lacerations of his scalp which were attributed to having been hit with a blackjack by the other defendant, Granger B. His most striking features, when first seen, were: the manner in which he wore his ordinary hospital bathrobe in the form of a cape; his extensive vocabulary; and his speech which was suggestive of the English writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although he walked about as one who is completely aloof from those about him, he readily talked to the examiners and was co-operative.

His responses to many routine questions revealed a certain type of humour; for example, after discussing his rôle in the crime of killing his parents, he was asked: *Q.* Do you have brothers or sisters? *A.* No, ours

¹ I should like to thank Dr. Lewis I. Sharp and Dr. John H. Cassity for their kind assistance in gathering information for this case history.

is a rapidly declining line. The explanation he offered for his 'wry' remark was: 'I have a great sense of irony, because it is a most ironic world.'

Initially, he alluded to the Greek character, Aeneas; however, he vigorously denied any identification with Aeneas or the gods: 'If I identified with anyone, it would be Hamlet and his vacillations.' He then spontaneously recited:

'O that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!
Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God! O God!
How weary, stale, flat and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!'

In subsequent sessions, he switched from Aeneas, a 'Boy Scout character', to Orestes. He would spontaneously quote from the works of various poets when discussing them. His favourite poems were by A. E. Housman, which he quoted frequently.

He explained that he had been planning to kill his mother for many years because 'she was a vituperative woman . . . *my father said* that in olden times she would have been burned as a witch!' As for his explanation for killing his father, he was vague and evasive. 'I wanted to reward him for his suffering', was one of the more frequent of the varied explanations he presented.

When asked if his attitude to the whole situation was within normal limits, he replied: 'Normal means usual or proper. In my case and as to my identity, it is something that surpasses normal or abnormal. The weak have banded together to destroy the strong', obviously referring to himself as the latter. 'I'll be judged only by men who are my peers. I know of no men who are my peers. Hence, I can't be judged to my satisfaction. It's a lonely place where I am—Mount Olympus—it is only because few are there and one wearies of continued hatred and contempt. Superiority—it will destroy me!'

Alluding to the crime, 'I don't understand why I was not apprehended before. I gave subtle intimations through arch remarks regarding it. It was a delightful game! I'm sure many knew it. As to Granger, he's so stupid that I knew he would give the thing away. He is one of the artefacts that make the whole situation amusing.'

At the time of his arrest, his will was found among his possessions. This document stipulated that two million dollars would be distributed to six men: Billy, a former sexual partner of James, was to receive one and one-half million, and Granger, one-fourth million; the remaining amount to go to the other four men named in the will. The will noted further that

it would take effect only if he died of angina pectoris; otherwise all the money would go to charity.

Q. How much money is in your parents' estate?

A. About one hundred thousand dollars.²

Q. How do you explain the larger amount of two million dollars distributed?

A. I need not explain. The money will be there.

Q. I don't understand.

A. It will be there, that's all!

Referring to the time in his life when he sought psychiatric help on his own initiative, he stated: 'Between my sophomore and junior year in college, I felt the world was leaving me. I was frightened—it was as if I were living in a nightmare! I felt I was unable to reach people. At first, it was not suffering so much as tedium—tedium with life. I fear my doctor could not help me because I talked in circles to him.' He stated further:

'I was 20 at the time. I had never had any sexual experiences before that. In a methodical fashion, I searched out for "gay" (homosexual) bars. I went to a library and got a book which listed them.³ I feel much better since I became "gay", but I have been gradually destroyed by the outside world. I couldn't stand the laughter! People never understood me. I want the State to burn me—and I'll see that it does. I always wanted people to like me, and they never did. I must succeed in making the jury hate me. The good die more blameless deaths. . . . I shall not die an ignominious death. I wish to die the proper way. There was a time when Seneca could time and again open a vein at a dinner, as Nero had put the curse on him, and he finally died.' He then quoted Housman:

'Some can gaze and not be sick, but
I could never learn the trick.
This to be said for blood and breath
They give a man a taste for death.'

The following is his description of how the crime took place. Some correction has been made to put the episode in a chronological order. Most of the questions by the examining psychiatrists asking for further details have been eliminated. All the material listed below was obtained while the patient was in the metropolitan hospital, except for one most important point, his statement describing overt sexual advances by his mother. (This particular material was elicited several months after his hospitalization in a state institution.)

'I had always thoughts of doing away with my mother. When I was 15, she began to act unseemly for a mother. She would disrobe in front of me in the

² From our present information, the total value of James' inheritance is approximately seventy thousand dollars.

³ There is such a book.

living room. The first time this happened, I said to my father: "What the hell is that woman doing!" My father told her to go to the bedroom if she wanted to disrobe. She answered: "He's my son. I guess I can take off my clothes in front of him if I want to!" Do you know that even at the age of 15, she still wanted to bathe me? I have no recollection of her actually bathing me, but apparently she must have, because I remember a violent argument we had over this. I finally had to compromise and leave the bathroom door unlocked. She would kiss me as a mother shouldn't kiss a son. Things became so bad that about a year ago I moved out of the house. My father thought it was a good idea. If I had moved far away from this city, this might never have happened.

'I first moved to the Terraza Apartments; I rented one for \$130 a month. I grew tired of this place after three or four months and decided to move to another apartment (in a so-called exclusive neighbourhood). During the interim of three weeks between leaving the Terraza Apartment and the moving to the new place, I stayed with my parents.'

Q. Why did you stay with your parents if you had such great difficulties with your mother and sufficient money to rent a hotel room?

A. It was the most convenient place to live, that's all.

Q. Specifically, when do you recall having your first urges to kill your mother?

A. *Every child feels like killing his mother when she takes away his ice cream cone.*

He continued: 'Money was never a problem in our family, and I had all I wanted. My mother had given me cheques up to \$5,000. After I was living in my new apartment, she came to visit me. It wasn't so bad when she came with my father, but when she came alone it was awful—I felt our whole family should be destroyed, immediate family, that is.'

Q. Why 'immediate'?

A. Well, Granger and I have been accused of killing my aunt and uncle.

'About the time I first moved out of my home, I met Granger. Although we both had had homosexual experiences, we never had any relations with one another. I liked to discuss Greek literature, art and poetry with him. But most of my friends did not like him. . . . I gave him various reasons for wanting to kill my mother. Actually I was ashamed of my real reason in her unseemly (*i.e.* sexual) behaviour. I believe he made a facetious remark two or three months before the crime as to why didn't I kill my mother—you know, all this kind of remarks are made facetiously, so the person can back out.' He then whispered satirically, as if to imitate a movie villain: 'And suddenly our expressions became serious; Granger said he would get the cyanide.'

Q. Why cyanide?

A. I am a chemist! It's characterized by its utter rapidity. It's the most humane.

'He wanted to try the cyanide out on an alcoholic bum. I was shocked—he's an innocent man; why hurt him? I tell you, Granger is a danger! Another ironical twist to this whole thing is that Granger is more a menace than I; he was always wanting to kill someone. I subsequently found out from a mutual friend, John, who introduced us to one another, that Granger approached him with a plan to murder me. Granger had no objection to my killing my father.

'At that time, I was becoming more and more apathetic; this apathy was

steadily worsening. It took me an hour to get up from bed to get to the shower! I had trouble with little things, such as deciding which socks to wear.

'About a week before I killed my mother, she came to my apartment alone; she made advances of trying to draw me to the couch while kissing me. I repulsed her. Although I had planned killing her for some time, this action of hers made it definite. I felt I was serving the ends of justice. Evil was to be rewarded in kind, and goodness (reference to his father) was to be rewarded in kind.'

At this point, James appeared to have some difficulty in recalling details preceding and during the commission of the crime. With encouragement, he continued:

'After we tested the cyanide out on champagne to see how much would discolour the liquid, we went over to my parents' apartment. Granger waited in the hallway. I went into the kitchen and poured three glasses of champagne, putting poison in my parents' glasses. After they drank, I watched to see when it would take effect—my mother was first, and then my father. I don't know if he knew he was poisoned or not; I don't recall his saying anything.'

Q. How long did you stay around the apartment?

A. Granger came in. We destroyed my champagne glass. I guess we stayed around for about an hour.

Q. What did you do during this hour?

A. I don't remember. I recollect I felt rather smug—more so than usual.

'We went to John's apartment and I felt smug and slept very soundly. Granger slept with John and had sexual intercourse (fellatio). I told him it was wrong to do such a thing after we had just killed my parents—after all, it's not every day I kill my parents. He answered me that I shouldn't have slept soundly after their deaths.'

Q. How were the bodies found?

A. We waited around a couple of days. When we did not hear of anyone discovering the bodies, we returned to the apartment and discovered the bodies.

Q. Why did you return?

A. You just can't leave a couple of dead bodies lying around an apartment, can you?

'I always knew we would be caught. I never told Granger this. I would make wry remarks that people should have caught on, but I never dreamed we would be caught the way we were. After my parents' funeral, I was questioned by the police and later released. I then took on all the trappings of mourning. I dressed in black. I even had black candles in my apartment! I was sleeping during the day and getting up at night. . . . I wrote my will (distributing \$2,000,000 to six of his friends).

'The day before I was arrested, an Air Force man took me to see the play, *Oh Men, Oh Women*, which was about psychiatrists—another ironical twist! After he had taken me home and left, I heard a knock on my door—it was Granger. I said: "I sleep late, but six o'clock in the morning is no time for visiting." He said that he wanted to discuss Greek literature with me. I answered that I wanted to sleep and proceeded to do so. I was awakened by a hit on my head. I tell you one's reaction to such a thing is incredulity, but with succeeding blows you realize it's not a dream and you begin fighting. I guess I knocked the phone off

the hook. The manager (of the apartment-hotel) came upstairs and Granger told him I had awakened from a nightmare and tried to injure him. I just stood there bleeding from my head. I didn't say a word. That morning, we were arrested.'

PAST HISTORY

In regard to James' background, we have used his own statements where applicable. However, additional information was obtained from outside sources.

Early Childhood. James was the only child, born four years after marriage of Dr. A. and Mrs. A., who were of Russian-Jewish extraction. Dr. A. was a physician employed during most of his professional life by a municipal health department. Mrs. A. was a grade school teacher after she graduated from college and retained such a job until she died.

His maternal aunt describes her sister thus: 'She was the oldest of four children in our family; she was a very beautiful woman and had many suitors. I think she married Dr. A. because he was a physician and marrying him she thought she would improve her status. Toward her son she was strict and demanding, though she didn't spank him. In his early years, she gave him a great deal of love; in fact, too much. He was never permitted to be on his own for a moment. She kept him almost a recluse, although she said she didn't want him to be one. He didn't like his mother; she was always the one to tell him to do unpleasant things and discipline him. He didn't like being forced to eat food by her; he was always headstrong, but I believe my sister was mentally ill.'

The patient's memory of his mother during the early years of his life is as follows:

'My earliest memory of her was that she was a school teacher. She would leave me with a maid or governess, who were changed frequently. I think she was a very poor school teacher; she would not let the children touch her desk because "their hands are dirty". She was always vituperative when my father brought me small gifts from Woolworth's. She would shout at him for doing so . . . my mother frequently stated that I was very close with her when I was four, five and six years old—I have no such recollection. She would frequently hit me until the time I was in my teens and I started hitting her back.

'I really have few memories of my early life. She would always quote a kindergarten teacher to me who said: "Mrs. A., your son thinks he is superior to the other children because he has a good vocabulary, but someday you'll be sorry you brought him into this world." I don't know if I was a breast or bottle baby. She said I was a feeding problem. She used to say I was late in learning to talk, but she was such a pathological liar, I don't know if that's true. She would never allow me any friends. It's quite ironical that she would not allow me to play with children because they were too dirty for me; and then when I lost the ability to have rapport with friends, she would criticize me for not having friends. I was a most solitary child.'

'My father was always kindly toward me. One might call him a man completely without guile. He was honest to a fault. I don't recall ever having an argument with him or even hearing him raise his voice to me. I believe he was a good doctor with an especially good bedside manner. My parents had frequent arguments and physical altercations until three or four years ago when the number of physical fights decreased. I guess they didn't have as much strength as they grew older. My father had to restrain my mother when she threw heavy objects at him; as this was usually unsuccessful, he had to hit her to make her stop hitting him. After these fights, they would make up. When they made up was the only time I saw any sort of affection between them—*only words, never physical affection*. Within a few days after they made up, my mother would start a violent argument again.'

Q. Never physical affection?

A. Absolutely never!

When discussing his mother and father having any sort of sexual relationship, he became slightly agitated and was quite insistent that they did not. He considered it to be irrelevant that they slept in the same bed: 'I never recall even attempting to consider my parents having sexual relationships.'

Adolescence. During the ages of 11 to 14, he lived alone with his mother. Occasionally, he and his mother would visit his father, who was in the Army Medical Corps at that time, stationed at an army base in Texas. According to information we have, given by Dr. A. several years ago to a physician treating James, Mrs. A. constantly criticized her husband and walked about in flimsy clothing in the presence of her son during James' early adolescence.

James describes his adolescence: 'I was shy to the point of being incapacitated. I was interested in reading, chemistry and tropical fish.'

When James was 14, the police were called to the A.'s apartment because of several fires that had been started mysteriously in the household. Ten small fires had been started on the floors of various rooms of their apartment. The police investigated the fire-setting, believed that Dr. A. was covering up for his son, but, lacking proof, no arrest was made. James explains: 'I didn't start those fires, but I must admit I was fascinated by them, and I did keep two of the fires going. It was my father's and my theory that my mother started them, but she persisted in denying this.'

About the time of the fire incident, his school work was beginning to deteriorate. He was excessively absent and was noted to be lagging in all subjects; in particular, Spanish. It was also remarked by his counsellor that he was suffering from severe migraine headaches. Psychiatric help was advised and he began psychiatric treatment with Dr. I. J. It appears that with the help of psychotherapy and counselling, he was able to graduate from high school and gain admittance to a large university.

His aunt, Mrs. Alpha, states that the other members of the family were aware there was a 'terrible' home situation at that time. Mrs. A. was constantly berating Dr. A., and for periods of time neither parents spoke to one another; but, individually, they were indulgent towards James. When James was 15, Mrs. Alpha advised James' mother to separate. However, she refused this advice 'because Mrs. A. knew James would not be with her'. When separation was not agreed upon, this aunt offered to take James into her home. Dr. A. said it would be James's own decision, but this plan was thwarted by Mrs. A.'s refusal to go along with such a plan.

Mrs. Alpha's husband states that James always had chemicals strewn about the apartment, and his mother was somewhat worried because of the 'dangerous chemicals' he played with. Mr. Alpha adds: 'He was always a precocious child and always had conversations with adults, even when he was less than 10 years old. He wrote poetry which his parents were proud of—but which they thought was too melancholy.'

Ages Eighteen to Twenty-two. 'I majored in chemistry. During my first two years in college I was on the Dean's Honour Roll. Between my sophomore and junior year was when I suffered most; I wanted to commit suicide. I flunked all my subjects in my junior and senior years; even so, I was doing work on crystal formation with my professor. I believe we have a paper coming out in a chemical journal; this will not be my first scientific paper to be published.⁴ I feel I am unusual to be a chemist and a poet. Of course, historically, I am not unusual, since many of the great chemists had a taste for poetry.

A classmate who knew James only in the classroom and laboratory describes him as a very good and efficient student. He was noted to be seclusive and rarely 'kidded around' like the other students. James states further: 'I wanted to commit suicide, but I did not. I don't fear death—but I do fear the moment of awareness before one dies.'

Sexual Life. 'To my recollection, I had no hetero- or homosexual contact until I was 20. I was always modest; even now, I don't like to undress in front of anyone. I masturbated for the first time when I was 14 or 15. My mother, one way or another, indicated to me that I should not masturbate. I don't recall my fantasies; they must have been vague, because I was naïve at that age.

'Although my mother was rigid in some respects about sex, on the other hand she was always showing off her legs and saying: "Men say I have pretty legs." My father's attitude was "So what?" Once she wore one of those tight sweaters;

We have located only one published paper by this patient. It was published in a reputable chemistry educational journal when James was 19. He writes the paper in such a way that it sounds as if he has had many years of experience teaching students. The article is lucid and concise; it concerns a method of demonstrating in a college classroom certain physical properties of a chemical element James had studied. His article compares quite favourably with the other articles in the journal. He explains that he signed the paper as 'James A., X University', so that the editors would assume he was an instructor at the university instead of a freshman student.

after all, my mother was past her girlhood. She would frequently volunteer the information that she had no pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. My father would say: "If some other man wants you, go to him! Who's stopping you?"

'When I was 18, I realized I was "gay." I was infatuated with one of the graduate students at school; but, since we both did not want overt sexual relationships at that time, nothing happened. When I was 20, I decided to seek out homosexuals. Since I became "gay", I'm less incapacitated by my shyness. I began attending "gay" parties and had many affairs with men; there's one thing universal about homosexuals and that's their promiscuity; they never have permanent relationships. A homosexual's palate is jaded. I prefer to take the active rôle in sodomy. I might say I have no liking for pederasty. Frankly, I didn't enjoy sex so much as the feeling of being liked by someone. I always preferred virile men; if I wanted femininity, I would take a woman. I didn't mind telling my mother I was "gay", but I hated to tell my father because I knew it would hurt him to hear about my being a homosexual. It saddened him when I told him.

'Through this "gay" crowd, I came in contact with Sam. He has an internationally-known house where a great deal of sado-masochist activities took place. I guess I went to this house a dozen times, more or less as a voyeur. I like to watch bizarre things. Occasionally I would take part in the activities. . . . I felt rather silly just watching. I went in for "pop", that is, mild beating or constraint as compared to "symphony", which is the infliction of more severe pain. I didn't enjoy this type of activity except constraint; by that I mean forcing someone to do fellatio or other acts. . . . Actually, some people want to be forced to do these things, since they have guilt feelings or something.

'My last love affair was with Billy. He's very talented—I mean sexually. I feel terrible that his name has been brought up here. He had some scars on his forearms which were cigarette burns. Only someone like myself who has a familiarity with the activities of a sado-masochistic group would recognize those scars were caused by cigarettes. Billy said they were self-inflicted, but I don't believe him.

'I have always preferred fellatio to be performed on me, rather than doing such to another—but I get my most pleasure from sodomy, where I play the active rôle. I'm told one develops a liking for being a "browning queen", but I never enjoyed the passive rôle in sodomy.

'Granger and I had a lot of contact with Frank, who is a wealthy man in the manufacturing business. He's a man about 60 who has a wife and children, and appears to be an ordinary middle-class business man. However, he likes to associate with the "gay" crowd; he's financed half the hairdressers in this State to put them in business. One night, I stayed over at Frank's place. I never liked the thought of having sex with him. However, on that night, he came to my bedroom and performed fellatio on me. I must say he did a very nice "gum job", as he has no teeth.'

Heterosexual Activity. 'When I was 20 and had already had several homosexual experiences, a girl invited me to her apartment for a drink. She was a classmate of mine; I believe she was a few years older than I. She became precious. . . . I mean she behaved in a way like saying: "Would oo like to sleep with little me?"—to use your parlance—I fucked her.''

Q. What were your feelings at the time?

A. Of course, one is always anxious doing something new; it's analogous to swimming the English Channel for the first time—That's a poor analogy because you'll interpret it as if I compare heterosexual activity to a dangerous undertaking.

'I believe I had one other similar experience with a girl classmate. Of course, I had homosexual fantasies when I was having intercourse with these two girls. My reason for having relations with women was really to find out if I were a homosexual. I proved to myself that I was.'

Dreams. 'I have no recollection of my dreams. I remember them soon after I wake up, and then I must repress them, because I don't recall them.'

Q. Can you try to remember?

A. Oh, yes, there is a repetitive dream I have. . . . It involves being chased in the hallways of an elegant office building, such as the R.C.A. Building. I get the elevator and press the button, say to the 35th floor. I stop at that floor—and there he is! I press the button for another floor and, when I get there, he's there! I never elude him and he never catches me; it's analogous to the Philomea legend where a nightingale is constantly chased by a hawk which never catches it. I think it's a dream of seduction. I don't know who is chasing me because I can never see his face.'

When attempts were made to gain the patient's associations, his usual response was: 'I think of nothing, absolutely nothing!' However, he did say: 'Thirty-fifth floor? Thirty-five is half of 70 dollars. . . . Presumably, I associated the number with money. That's free association. I always had difficulty free-associating, even under better circumstances when I was going to a private psychiatrist. . . . R.C.A. Building? . . . It's a large building. I had a feeling you wanted me to say that. . . . I think of radios and General Sarnoff. . . . He's a latter-day Horatio Alger character. . . . I say, splendid for the man!'

Fantasies. 'I don't recall my masturbatory fantasies before I was 20, except that they were homosexual. Now, they are of myself taking the active rôle in sodomy.'

Despite numerous interviews, James was unable to elaborate further on his fantasies.

Q. What of your ambitions?

A. I never wanted to be a doctor because I am squeamish about cadavers. My father let me make my own decision as to a career. I wanted to be a chemist, working in the physical chemistry field.

Philosophy. 'Intellectually, I am a Hedonist: however, in actuality, I am less of a Hedonist than those intellectually not Hedonists.

'My favourite philosopher is Hume. I accept few things *a priori*; for example, if one jumps out the window, we cannot say definitely he will fall to the ground. . . . I also like Nietzsche because he was anti-bourgeois.'

Past Medical History. 'I think I had every conceivable childhood disease, including scarlet fever. I recall my mother giving me several enemas when I was 6 or 7. I finally put up such a fuss that my father made her stop giving me them. I believe I had my tonsils out when I was 10. . . . They were inflamed, so they were taken out. I don't remember the exact details.

'I suffered from migraine headaches since my adolescence. I don't know what caused them. . . . I suppose you'll say they're psychosomatic. My father thought they were. You know, although he was a physician, he didn't believe

much in medicine except for the antibiotics. The headaches were very bad. I believe they were on the left side of my head. They varied in frequency from once a week to once a month. I occasionally had vertigo with these headaches. Ergotomine tartrate did not help me. They suddenly stopped when I was 20. I don't know why.' At one interview, he related that his ceasing to have headaches coincided with the beginning of his overt homosexual activities.

He describes episodes of 'tightening feelings in my chest and pain in my left arm', which began three or four months before he moved out of his parents' home. 'My father diagnosed my illness as angina pectoris, and he gave me amyl nitrate pills. . . . I haven't had any attacks since I've been in a hospital. I don't recall how frequent these attacks were, but I do remember their frequency varied.'

Q. Do you recall any feelings of fear or anxiety with the 'tightening' in your chest?

A. None—to my recollection.

Q. What were the results of your draft physical?

A. I was rejected from the draft because of myopia and anxiety neurosis. I have always had an anxiety neurosis; it's gotten worse since I've been in the hospital.

A SUMMARY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FINDINGS

The patient attained an I.Q. of 118, which gave him an overall rating of high average intelligence. The subtest scores showed a large discrepancy between his verbal and practical abilities (23 points). His facility with words tended to give one an initial impression that he is much brighter than he is. Actually, he displayed poor practical judgment and was occasionally obtuse in his reasoning. During the examination, he showed an undercurrent of anxiety which impaired his attention span and ability to concentrate. The tests also indicated occasional loss in reality contact, although no clear break. Contact with the examination and situation was unimpaired.

The personality picture revealed by the examination is that of an emotionally-confused, immature boy who has been unable to identify himself with either parent or a stable adult surrogate. He shows an underlying passivity and a masochistic ego structure. While in contact with his environment, there is a loss of appropriate affective responsiveness. This failure is coupled with over-rigid obsessive compulsive defences—and suggests a mental illness of long development.

A SUMMARY OF THE PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

The pertinent findings were myopia (corrected adequately with glasses); acne vulgaris on his face; and lacerations of the scalp (noted above).

The electroencephalogram and neurological examination showed no abnormal findings.

FAMILY HISTORY

Paternal grandfather: 'He was said to have been a strict disciplinarian. He came from Russia. I know this sounds made-up, but he went to Africa and did business with the natives and was fairly successful. He was extremely strict with my father and his brothers—except the brother who is now in a State psychiatric hospital. He was my grandfather's favourite. That's all I know about my father's father; he died before I was born.'

Paternal grandmother: 'She died of cancer when I was 8. I believe I saw her twice. . . . My mother objected to my visiting any of my father's relatives. My father was quite fond of his mother, as opposed to his father whom he did not like. She was a spry, conciliatory and resourceful woman.'

Paternal aunts and uncles: 'I know little of them, except for the uncle who has deteriorated from schizophrenia in a State Hospital for the past thirty-five years.' (The Director of the State Hospital confirms this statement.)

Maternal grandfather: 'I have no recollection except that he was supposed to have had a liking for me; he died when I was 4.'

Maternal grandmother: 'She drove her husband to his grave, according to my father. I only saw her a few times. She was a cool, reserved old woman. I saw her a few days before she died; she was in an oxygen tent. I was 17 at the time.'

Maternal aunts and uncles: Mrs. A. was the eldest of four siblings. The second from the eldest was Elsie Zeta. She and her husband were the only relatives whom James knew well. This aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Zeta, died under unusual conditions. Only twelve days before the deaths of Dr. and Mrs. A., the Zetas were found dead on the floor of their summer cabin. The coroner's conclusions were that their deaths were due to the accidental inhalation of excessive amounts of carbon monoxide.

Mr. Alpha, James' uncle⁵ by marriage, gave the following information concerning the funeral of Mr. and Mrs. Zeta: 'Apparently, there had been a real reconciliation between Dr. A. and his wife, because a week before the Zetas died, the A.'s had gone alone to a summer resort for their 25th wedding anniversary. At the funeral, Mrs. A. cried—as she always did in any bad situation. She often said that day: "I wish it had been me instead of my sister!" She was always talking about committing suicide. James and his father stood at the grave for a long time; both seemed deep in contemplation. We heard Dr. A. say that he had never seen anything like that before; that is, two people buried together.'

⁵ This uncle describes another incident that took place several months before the funeral: 'Dr. A. was quite concerned that he would lose his job with the city because he lacked Civil Service status. At that time, Dr. A. approached James and told him of his predicament, telling him he might have to decrease his allowance and it would be a good idea for James to go to work.'

‘It was at the funeral that I first heard the A’s refer to James as “our” problem; before, it had always been “my” and they had always been at odds on how to treat him.’

Mr. Alpha added: ‘Although we have pretty conclusive proof that the Zeta’s deaths were due to accidental cause, there was a great deal of talk that their deaths were by suicide.’

Of the third from the eldest of Mrs. A.’s siblings, James says: ‘Thomas was a wastrel until he went to war. I understand that he got a degree from college. . . . I guess anyone can get a degree from college nowadays and that sums up my attitude toward my Uncle Thomas.’

Of his youngest aunt, he says: ‘Mary Alpha, she’s the cleverest of the group. Since I’ve been in the hospital, she’s been very nice to me.’

From our present information, the mother of James had been described by a competent psychiatrist, who chanced to interview her in connection with her son’s illness, as an ambulatory paranoid schizophrenia.

COURSE IN THE METROPOLITAN HOSPITAL

During his stay on the Prison Ward, he strode about with his bathrobe over his shoulders in a cape form. Occasionally, he would be seen sitting in his cell writing poetry or reading poetical works. His supercilious aloofness did not appear to antagonize the other patients—whom he referred to as ‘these ignominious dregs’ when talking to the physicians; in fact, one was impressed by the great amount of deference his compeers showed to him. Infrequently, he would join in a game of chess with a fellow-patient or would arbitrate in a dispute related to a chess game.

While having the clips and sutures removed from his scalp, he stated to the nurse: ‘I, who fled from pain all my life, and now have come to this! The friend who did this to me is a very good friend. If your friends will do this, what can you expect from your enemies?’

He was always co-operative with the nurses and physicians, but on one occasion, when asked to give some logical explanation for his poisoning his father, said: ‘I wished to reward him for his suffering.’

Q. Please explain.

A. If you do not understand, I will not lower myself by replying [to one who is unable to grasp the obvious].

Q. I don’t understand.

A. Then I say to you, sir, that you are a fool!

Prior to his going to court to stand trial, he constantly reiterated his wish to die a ‘noble death’, *i.e.*, to be killed by the State. Except for one or two occasional episodes of crying when he discussed ‘Billy’, for the most part his manner was that of one ‘above the crowd’, for example, ‘I shall

not shave because it is an ignominious task for one who is accustomed to having his own barber. . . . There is no one capable of judging my poetry. . . . Perhaps Shakespeare or Housman could, if they were living.'

The conclusions of the examining psychiatrists, prior to his going to court, were as follows: 'To sum up, the defendant is in such a state of insanity at the present time as to be incapable of understanding the charge or proceedings or of making his defence thereto. He is suffering from a mental illness diagnosed as schizophrenia, paranoid type, and is a suitable case for commitment to a mental hospital.'

At the court, he was adjudged insane and remanded to the State Institution for the criminally insane. He returned to the City hospital to await transfer to this State Hospital. When seen after his return from court, there was a dramatic change in his manner. His appearance was that of one severely depressed, with marked psychomotor retardation. When talking, he was on the verge of tears. He summed up his preoccupation as follows: 'In court, I learned that *all* the doctors who have seen me here think I'm suffering from dementia praecox. I'm well aware that the prognosis for this illness is very poor, and I hear there's no treatment at the place where I'm going.' He made only an occasional effort at stating well-turned phrases or showing any humour, as compared to his numerous 'ironic' and 'wry' statements prior to going to court.

When interviewed on the day before his leaving for the State Hospital, his psychomotor retardation had lessened somewhat. His final words to one of the examining physicians were: 'My uncle, who is my counsel, said I made legal history—but there'll be damn few parents who will name their sons after me!'

FOLLOW-UP STATUS

Six months after being in the State Hospital for the criminally insane, he was interviewed by one of the staff psychiatrists from the metropolitan hospital. He was seen in the visiting room of the State Hospital in the presence of a hospital guard. When approached, he showed little evidence of recognition, nor did he recall the physician's name, despite the fact that he had had numerous lengthy interviews with the physician six months earlier.

He was noted to be slightly tanned, with his scalp wounds well healed. Although he appeared to lounge comfortably in a large wicker chair with his legs crossed and his shirt partially unbuttoned, a great deal of underlying anxiety was made evident by an occasional flicker of his peri-oral musculature, the restless movements of his feet, and his slowly twisting tufts of hair on his chest. He displayed less of the grandiose manner he showed in the past. His first statements concerned the State Hospital. 'The food here is appall-

ing. . . . This place is as bad as I expected, except for the brutality. . . . I've seen little brutality. . . . But the food here is positively inedible!"

Later in the interview, he said: 'This is what Oscar Wilde referred to when he said, "Some grow mad and all grow bad!" Wilde's statement was correct when he said, "Each man kills the thing he loves."'

Q. I don't understand.

A. I killed my father and I love—I mean *loved*⁶—him. I can't explain it. How can one explain the inexplicable?

He stated that now his plans were to get out of the Hospital, 'even though it may mean I'll be in prison for the rest of my life. What is bad is the utter indeterminity here. I believe the penal code of indefinite sentences is psychologically bad. . . . I feel now that I was psychotic when I was at the other hospital.' The last statement was made spontaneously several times during the interview.

Q. Any other plans?

A. That's just the trouble: I don't know what I would do if I were outside an institution. I've been resigned to being unhappy since my adolescence; however, I do seek some sort of contentment. I was suffering from my anxiety neurosis before I came here, and being here has made it worse. . . . I must tell you that if one is sane or reasonably sane in this psychiatric hospital, he can get along all right—but woe unto anyone who has as part of his psychotic illness the need to shout or show uncontrollable behaviour! It's ironical that to tolerate this hospital, one has to be sane.

On another occasion, he stated: 'What I seek now is surcease . . . the only way I will attain surcease is by death—and that is what I seek.'

On succeeding interviews, he showed a preoccupation with the 'injustice' of the State laws, and would give various current examples of newspaper articles referring to people who played rôles in having others institutionalized—and that these people in turn were committed to institutions for breaking the very laws that they were to enforce.

Although he wished to return to court, he stated: 'There are certain aspects which I do not relish. . . . The newspapers will get it all wrong. I hate the thought of discussing *my mother's* unseemly behaviour.'

Q. Why did you not tell of your mother's behaviour in earlier interviews?

A. Frankly, no one asked me specifically concerning this. I don't like to talk about it. You may think it's delusional and it's difficult for me to talk when I think that much of what I say will be thought of as delusional.

Q. At this time, what is your attitude toward your father's death?

A. I had no remorse at the time of the crime. Only after I came to this

⁶ This is a common error in his speech—referring to his parents as if they were still living. On most occasions, he would not be aware of incorrectly speaking of his deceased parents in the present tense.

hospital have I felt remorse. I was joking about his death with one of the inmates here; after a while, the humour escaped me. . . . It was no longer amusing. . . . At the time I was working in the library here, I apparently appeared so depressed that the doctor thought I was a suicidal risk. It's still a depressing subject which saddens me.

During his stay in the hospitals, the finances of his parents and his own were examined closely by auditors and an interesting fact came to light: it appears that his mother did *not* give him the large amounts of money he claims she did. When questioned as to the amounts, the names of the banks that the cheques were written on, and the frequency of the gifts, James at once became vague, evasive and grossly contradictory—but still insistent that 'the money was there!'

Two years after his admission to the State Hospital, he was again interviewed by a staff psychiatrist from the metropolitan hospital. When first seen, he was standing by a small table in an examining room with a guard near by. He appeared paler and slightly thinner than when previously interviewed. His tie was askew and his grey flannel suit was ill-fitting despite it being well tailored and fairly well pressed. He displayed a certain restlessness which was in keeping with a person who is expecting a visitor. He immediately recognized the examiner, and explained: 'You came at a most inauspicious moment. I was expecting another visitor' (his aunt). Concerning hospitalization, he said: 'Presumably one acclimatizes oneself to purgatory. The debilitating thing is the utter ennui. Your hospital is the Maxim's of Paris compared to *this* hospital. . . . One doesn't get up in the morning with a feeling of exultation, but I have adjusted here.'

Q. How do you feel about my asking you a few questions?

A. One is never at ease with anyone from the outside.

Q. Why?

A. Presumably, I am a lunatic.

Concerning the crime, the patient's responses were studied, as if he had long planned his answers to the questions.

'It was easier to speak about it when I first came here than now. I was more satisfied with what I had done than I am now.'

Q. Your will?

A. I had some curious ideas at your hospital. I didn't think I actually possessed two million dollars, but I thought it was at my disposal. (With the last sentence, there was a high pitched cracking of his voice.)

Q. Please review the recurrent dream you spoke of before.

A. It was a dream in which I was chased through deserted corridors by someone whom I could never elude. I would go to the twentieth and thirtieth floor, and he would be there. I would shoot down, and he would be there.

Q. What comes to your mind when you think of 'shoot down'?

A. War, murder.

Q. Up?

A. Elevators. Elevators are conveyances on a vertical tract.

Q. Twentieth or thirtieth floor?

A. Twenty years old and thirty years old. My frame of reference is different from yours. I come from a gay milieu where 30 is regarded as very old. I recall a line I once wrote: 'Here 30 savories of his youth and 40 pays as gracefully as he can.'

Q. What does the poem mean?

A. After 40, a homosexual must pay (in order to obtain his sexual experience). It should be a good sociological study to find what happens to homosexuals—a great proportion of them end in suicide.

Q. Why?

A. Because of the barrenness they meet in life.

The interview was terminated when his visitor arrived. However, one week later he was interviewed again. He was called from his ward and brought to the examining room by a guard. He wore his coat over his shoulders and with his shirt partly open, he gave the impression of being dressed for an outing at a European summer resort. His restlessness was even more apparent than at the previous interview, and one sensed that he had a certain underlying irritability toward the interviewer's questioning. Toward many questions, he would respond by saying that he felt he would do himself harm to discuss certain aspects of his crime, especially when questioned as to what happened during the hour he remained in his parents' apartment after the crime.

Q. Do you recall your parents' trip on their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary?

A. I know nothing about it.

Q. Was there a reconciliation?

A. I don't think so. It didn't seem like a reconciliation. If two dogs are chained together for twenty-five years. . . . When I say they despised one another, I am putting it mildly. My mother was an extremist, either wonderful or horrid. Her affection was positively clawing.

Q. You previously spoke of feeling unique. Do you now feel unique?

A. Yes, I did feel myself unique before I came to your hospital.

Q. Because of your poetry?

A. I probably gave that as a rationalization which brings to mind the thought of Ezra Pound who is being kept in a hospital because it would be an embarrassment for the government to release him. . . . I thought about things concerning jails before I was ever in the metropolitan hospital. It might be amusing if I were outside, but it is not amusing to be a Prometheus or a Joan of Arc—you're going to think that I think I'm a martyr.

'The vilest deeds, like prison weeds
Bloom well in prison air;
It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there.'

Q. Do you feel that what's good in you has withered?

A. Not yet, but it will if I'm kept here an inordinate length of time.

Q. At the previous interview, you quoted Shakespeare. Do any quotations come to your mind now? (James readily responded in such a manner that suggested he had been preparing for just such a question prior to the interview.)

A. Macbeth: 'Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood clean from my hands? No, this my hand will rather the multitudinous seas incarnadine, making the green one red.' Hamlet: 'This, like to a murdering piece, in many places gives me superfluous death.'

Toward the end of the interview, James said: 'There are three things one has to do for oneself here: (1) One must cure oneself of his mental illness; (2) bring this to the attention of the doctors, which is more difficult than the first, and (3) and still more difficult, is to convince the doctors to let you go after they find you sane.'

SUMMARY

In the opinion of the author, certain environmental and hereditary factors in James A.'s life are pertinent to his rôle in the crime and are as follows:

1. There was hereditary loading of mental illness both paternally and maternally; his father's brother had been hospitalized for thirty-five years because of a schizophrenic process and his mother suffered from paranoid schizophrenia.

James A.'s asthenic-dysplastic constitutional make-up suggests an hereditary endocrinal imbalance associated with a schizophrenic process.

2. The eruption of the schizophrenic process was first recognized at the age of 14 when he set fires in his household and began failing in his school subjects. His ego defences were unable to cope with primary process thinking which was mobilized by powerful internal and external stimuli, namely, physiological changes associated with puberty; living alone with his mother from the age of 11 to 14 without the presence of his father, and his mother's seductive behaviour which brought on an excess libidinal excitation which he was unable to discharge.

3. There was some improvement in his behaviour following his fourteenth year so that he was able to enter college. However, between his sophomore and junior years in college there was again a breakdown in the reality testing function of his ego.

4. James A.'s association with a group in which criminal activities were common and his close contact with Granger B., a member of this criminal group, specifically encouraged him to commit the crime of matricide.

5. His parents' 'reconciliation' shortly before the crime awakened a wish to kill his father. From our present knowledge, the definite plans for committing the crime came about upon James becoming aware that his parents were going on a 'second honeymoon'.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 130)

CURRENT RESEARCH. LXIX. INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF CORRECTIONAL RESEARCH AND PRACTICE.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Suite 605, Crocker-Anglo Bank Building, Sacramento, California.

(2) *Subject of Research:* (a) Collection and annotation of ideas, references, and information concerning on-going research and improved practice; (b) analysis and organization of this information into a systematic total statement of research efforts in corrections; (c) organization of a correctional research symposium to exchange ideas and to discuss trends in correctional research and practice; (d) publication of a final report presenting the findings of the research and describing important developments and trends in the field of corrections.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency; The Ford Foundation. *Research workers:* Clyde E. Sullivan and John P. Conrad, under the direction of Richard A. McGee, Director, California Department of Corrections and President, Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency.

(4) *Commenced:* January 1960. *Completion expected:* July 1961.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

CARLTON IN PERSPECTIVE¹

Poised between the penal system on the one hand and the developing child care service on the other, the Approved Schools have during the post-war period been the subject of many official inquiries. After the thorough-going review of the system in the Reynolds Report of 1946, the Schools again received much careful attention from both the Curtis and Franklin Committees. More recently the Departmental Committee under Lord Ingleby was given very wide terms of reference, which included a study of the Approved Schools, and the findings are expected to be published later in the year. Mr. Victor Durand's report, therefore, on the disturbances in August 1959 at Carlton is not an inquiry, as is popularly supposed, into an educational backwater, barely ruffled in normal times by the stream of public interest. It is rather concerned with a service which must inevitably be aware of its own difficulties.

¹ Report of Inquiry into Disturbances at Carlton Approved School on 29th and 30th August, 1959. (Cmnd. 937, H.M.S.O., 3/6.)

Although the Carlton inquiry began as an examination of particular incidents in one School the Commissioner's Report is likely to have a much wider impact. It is to be warmly welcomed as providing a practical solution to many problems of recent origin. The recommendations fall easily into two groups: fifteen relate to the Schools generally whilst seventeen are specific to Carlton.

Leaving aside the Carlton proposals we find Mr. Durand seeking to accomplish two objects. In the first place, he would improve the provision and facilities of the Schools by securing better staffing and conditions of service, closed blocks, new buildings and a different nomenclature. Most of these changes could be effected without special legislation. Secondly, the Commissioner is at pains to recommend methods by which the Approved Schools may be relieved of some of their more intractable cases. To implement these proposals statutory revision will be necessary.

Staffing is, of course, the key to the success of any Approved School. The acute shortage of housemasters represents a most pressing and urgent need. The report is emphatic on this point—housemasters should be recruited in greater numbers and be paid better salaries. This particular difficulty is not in any way peculiar to the Approved Schools—the shortage of trained social staff and their depressed status is part of a general problem as the Younghusband Report clearly indicated. If recruitment is to await far-reaching changes in social-worker training, the Schools face a dismal enough future. The excellent but small in-training schemes such as the Aycliffe Housemaster Course point the way, however, to an obvious opportunity. The time perhaps has come to re-examine the conception of the housemaster bequeathed by the Reynolds Report.

There would appear to be a strong case for regarding housemasters as executive officers of their establishments. Together with headmasters and deputy headmasters they might form a working hierarchy. Where the house system is properly developed the housemaster would become as it were a miniature headmaster having an overall responsibility to the principal for the training of, say, thirty boys. On this view a substantial period of housemastering would be an indispensable pre-requisite for promotion to senior appointments. If this is accepted, many quite startling conclusions follow. In the first place, the field for recruitment must be considerably extended. Not only social workers but university graduates, teachers, and men of wide experience and obvious talent must be offered the opportunity of competing for these posts and a full career in the Approved School Service. Secondly, careful selection would be followed by a staff training course of up to twelve months' duration. Only candidates passing this course would be eligible for appointment. Every selected housemaster might be regarded as a potential principal. Finally, the salaries and conditions of employment for housemasters would have to be drastically changed. The total remuneration should certainly be higher than that of the teacher or instructor if outstanding men from these categories are to be attracted. These proposals which tend to follow the public school pattern would have the additional merit of providing a rich experience for the headmasters of the future. The problem cannot be tackled piecemeal by individual Schools. A co-ordinated and realistic policy will need to be developed by the central authority.

Among the other recommendations for improved facilities perhaps the most interesting and provocative is the proposal that closed blocks be established in

a number of Schools. These centres would deal with boys 'not essentially unsuitable for Approved School training but who need to be held securely for a period in order to achieve progress with their training'. The suggestion is not a new one—in 1951 the Franklin Committee made a similar recommendation and it is understood that experiments have been undertaken in selected Schools during recent years. The problem of absconding in Senior Schools certainly deserves close study and attention if the statistics that were given at the Inquiry are a pointer to the future. It is not surprising that a Home Office working party has during the past year been considering this urgent matter. Although first-aid measures may be expedient, it would be wrong to accord a permanent place to the closed block in our Schools without further investigation. Unfortunately when dealing with the persistent absconder we have little or no carefully documented research available. The provision of closed blocks could give a splendid opportunity for the development of a controlled research scheme. Methodological problems will have to be met squarely and the experiment to be of value would require skilled direction. Without careful observation and intensive study most of what is written about the persistent absconder must be regarded as speculative. It would be interesting, for instance, to know how many of this type are psychopathic. Certainly there exists a small group of itinerants in our Schools who fail in each establishment in turn, and cause severe disruption everywhere. Some bear a psychopathic label and one wonders whether the provision of the recent mental health legislation will develop sufficiently to assist the Schools in this connection. The need exists to develop the closest possible links with the related medical and psychiatric services. The problem of the 'hard core' is well-known to remand homes, detention centres, Borstals and prisons, no less than to the Approved Schools. It prompts the wish to see the development for the first time in this country of a really effective long-term research project into the character of recidivism. The move for a standardized documentation and the new official interest in criminological research might provide the stimulus that is sorely needed.

In his plea to alter the nomenclature Mr. Durand is actuated by the same desire that led earlier legislators to drop the reformatory and industrial label and adopt instead the term Approved School. By this time, as the Commissioner realizes, it has in its turn developed a stigma and this undoubtedly represents a severe handicap to training. He is obviously unhappy about his own alternatives. 'Registered residential training centre' or 'registered training institute' are scarcely euphonious and would quickly develop their own particular aroma. Perhaps the current practice in many establishments of leaving out all reference to 'Approved School' provides the right solution to this difficulty, for example, Pelham House, Wellesley, Stanhope Castle.

The second group of recommendations to remove particularly difficult boys from Approved Schools stems directly from the Carlton incidents. The three proposed methods will all require careful examination before fresh legislation is prepared. The suggestion that provision be made to effect the prompt temporary removal of unruly or subversive youths by the police will probably be welcomed by many Senior School headmasters. It is doubtful, however, whether these powers would need to be used save in exceptional and rare cases. A too frequent recourse to police authority would weaken the disciplinary framework of the Schools themselves.

The other two suggested reforms facilitating the placing of Approved School boys to Borstal are much more fundamental. Already the Secretary of State under the 1933 legislation possesses powers to transfer in certain circumstances a Borstal trainee to an Approved School. Mr. Durand now proposes that a transfer in the other direction should be possible, for the exceedingly difficult boy. A final recommendation is that, in cases of doubt, the courts should commit young persons over 15 but under 17 years of age to 'residential training', leaving the Secretary of State to decide later in the light of the Classifying School's report, whether allocation should be to Borstal or Approved School.

This could be the beginning of a very interesting development in penology and treatment, especially if the whole concept of 'residential training' is expanded to include other provisions such as the epileptic colony, schools for maladjusted children and E.S.N. establishments. In a number of cases the picture of an offender drawn after the intensive diagnostic work of the classifying school team may well be radically different from that which is available to the sentencing court. The present recommendation could introduce a wider flexibility and ensure that the specialist classification process helps to shape treatment and training.

The development of a closer liaison with the Borstal establishments calls for a careful co-ordination of the work of both Services. In his Parliamentary statement on the publication of the Durand Report the Home Secretary clearly recognized this necessity. The proposals, he said, contained in the White Paper of February 1959 ('Penal Practice in a Changing Society') would need fresh examination in the light of the Durand recommendations. This is evident enough if the proposals of the Prison Commissioners to integrate Borstal training and imprisonment into a single system are considered. Their plan for an indeterminate sentence of custodial training with a maximum of two years and a minimum of six months might prove to be a highly attractive proposition for many senior Approved School boys who face the apparently more burdensome stipulations of an Approved School Order. Senior boys have traditionally taken a keen and understandable interest in the average length of training at Borstal establishments. The difficulties of co-ordination have prompted a suggestion in some quarters that a youth authority be established to be responsible for the training and treatment of young persons. This surely would introduce an unwelcome multiplicity of central directing agencies. The Children's Department has a fund of real experience available in its dealings with this problem and should be well able to preserve effective and harmonious contact with the Prison Commissioners and other agencies.

Apart from making a real contribution to the practical needs of the system, the Durand Report has performed a valuable service by stimulating a discussion on the whole question of management and the related subject of responsibility for the state and condition of Schools. There can no longer be any doubt but that management in the Approved Schools means much more than a responsibility for shaping policy and scrutinizing the processes of the training establishments. As developed in this report and in the administrative changes of recent years management means effective, close and personal responsibility for the life of the children committed to the Schools. The duties clearly stated in the Approved School rules make heavy demands on the men and women who so generously devote their time to the work. Whether in large senior Schools with constantly changing populations and a rapid rate of turnover it is realistic to place such burdens on voluntary

managers is an important and pressing question. One can but feel a real sense of sympathy with the Managers of the Carlton School in their difficulty.

Closely allied to this question is the whole concept of final responsibility for the Schools. Historical influences are strong in this field where local initiative and philanthropy were often the formative factors in the founding of many of the nineteenth-century Schools. The interest of the central authority came later in time and has generally lacked precise form and rarely become compulsive. It seems clear that the role of the central authority must continue to grow in importance when so many problems require a vigorous, co-ordinated and national approach. It is not only finance and buildings that make this necessary, but also a whole range of problems that include staff recruitment, the fluctuating committal rate and the growth of classification techniques.

A final criticism might be allowed concerning the form of the public inquiry held to consider the Carlton disturbances. Despite the kindly understanding of the Commissioner and the generous assistance accorded by the Home Office, an intolerable burden must have been placed on Managers and staff who were obliged for some months to maintain discipline in the School during the whole course of the inquiry. Surely it should not be difficult to devise a form of immediate administrative inquiry which would give the Home Secretary and the public the information and confidence they need, and at the same time save those entrusted with the running of the School the embarrassments of the situation.

Such in outline are the issues raised by the Durand Report. They should not obscure in any way the series of fruitful and remarkable developments which have taken place in the Approved Schools since the war. The classifying system has led the way in the growth of casework and individual study which may well become a model for other agencies. Most of the new and progressive influences have been keenly felt. A system of psychiatric surveillance has been widely adopted. Vocational training schemes have been expanded and carefully linked with apprenticeship requirements, whilst adventure training such as Outward Bound and the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme have been enthusiastically received. In a professional and educational milieu a great deal of fresh experiment has been possible. It is only by pursuing these lines vigorously that the true interests of the Approved Schools will be served.

H. DAVIES JONES.

“15 TO 18” (THE CROWTHER REPORT) AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

‘15 to 18’ is a bulky book but it is full of good things. At the beginning are one or two brilliant chapters on the present economic and social scene. Much of the material is familiar, but it is presented vividly and challenges the conscience of all concerned with education and with wider aspects of the welfare of teenagers. Perhaps it is cavilling to suggest that, whereas the Report in places deals exhaustively with the educational problems of young people in continuing full-time education, little reference is made in these introductory chapters to their attitudes and view-

¹ *15 to 18*, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education—England, Vol. 1. H.M.S.O. 1959.

points. These cannot be ignored without losing perspective, nor can we assume that because they are not at school the general thinking and behaviour of this section of young people is insignificant. In many respects the 15-18 group occupy different worlds. (This is highlighted in the film 'We are the Lambeth Boys' when the Thames-side young visit a famous school.) True, the privileged minority who follow a traditional and more disciplined way of life are not the cause for concern as are the majority who work at 15 and whose leisure is the subject of so much comment. It could be argued that there would be gain to social health were there not such watertight compartments in these vital years.

A section of the Report on juvenile delinquency draws attention to the heavy increase in crimes associated with violence, sex and drunkenness in the post-war decade, as well as the danger of exaggerating the total number of boys and young men affected. Aggregating the five types of offence—theft, violence, sexual, drink and disorder (a group which includes riding a bicycle without lights and playing football in the streets)—the overall rate in 1956 was 5.5 per cent. for the age groups 17-20 (less those in the Forces) and 2.5 per cent. for the 14-16 group.

The last year of compulsory education tends to be the heaviest year for juvenile delinquency, and when the school leaving age was raised from 14 to 15 in 1947 there was an immediate change-over in the record of the 13-year-olds, until then the most troublesome age group, the 14-year-olds ever since having become the main problem. There is a temptation to many about to leave school to share the pleasures of those who have just left but without the same money legitimately in their pockets.

Reference is made to the present mobility of the population and to the breaking down of local loyalties based on custom or sentiment, if not on conviction. There is the prevalent disinclination to accept authority and the cultivation of a defence mechanism against the do-gooders. This is not, as is pointed out, that so many young people are determined to think for themselves, but represents a substitution of 'the public opinion of their peers for the wisdom of the ages'.

All this leads to the inevitable conclusion that in a society which aims to be civilized as well as affluent much more thought must be given, more concern felt by the public at large for the welfare of the young. More of the national income must be spent on providing more educational opportunities and adult guidance. To raise the compulsory school-leaving age to 16 before initiating any county college work may seem doubtful wisdom. What to many appears the most pressing need is to provide the opportunity for young people between 15 and 18 to have regular contact with school or college. This does not mean, of course, as the Report is at great pains to indicate, that the kind of education the majority of young people should receive on one or more days a week during their teens should slavishly follow the existing patterns of schooling. On the contrary, it is manifest that new approaches which will provide and evoke some commentary on the world in which the young people find themselves must be worked out and must indeed influence also the curriculum for those in the last years at school. We are faced with the problem of the quality of personnel, always more important than organizational forms. It must be an increasing aim of national policy to recruit and train those who have a vocation not only to instruct but also to guide the young. These are needed in the Youth Service now and later in County Colleges. Youthful independence and initiative are admirable, but this does not mean that

teenagers must have all they demand and that we must accept as natural an apparent penchant for the trivial and the easy. Too often they do not know what they want. How there can be a swift acceptance of a code of conduct has been brilliantly demonstrated in 'To Sir, With Love',¹ where a group of hitherto unruly young people are shamed into accepting a convention of social behaviour based on mutual respect.

W. G. STONE.

1962: A PROBLEM AND AN OPPORTUNITY

A Report by the Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee, December 1959

This report recently issued by the Liverpool Juvenile Delinquency Committee draws attention to what is likely in the near future to develop into a major social problem for Merseyside and for most other industrial and commercial centres during the early 1960s. It is the problem of finding employment for the extraordinarily large numbers of juveniles who will be leaving school from 1962 onwards. The now famous 'bulge' which resulted from the phenomenally high birth-rates of the years 1946-47 will by that date be coming on to the juvenile labour market in greater numbers than we can reasonably hope to absorb. In Liverpool alone it is estimated that there will be something of the order of eight to ten thousand young people unemployed and with little prospect at all of ever being able to find satisfactory occupations in their home area. And what is true of Liverpool is equally likely to obtain for Glasgow, Tyneside, Bristol, Manchester and the other conurbations.

'These boys and girls', the report points out, 'have suffered throughout their lives because their numbers are so great, representing 40 to 50 per cent. increase on the number of their immediate predecessors. They have been in over-large classes in infant and junior and secondary schools; they will grow into adulthood in the midst of the keenest competition for appropriate employment'; moreover, there is little doubt that, when the competition for jobs is fiercest, the less well educated, the less gifted, the socially and personally less favoured young people will fare worst.

The prospect of having thousands of unskilled young people out of work in the mid-nineteen sixties, most of whom will derive from the unstable districts of the city where delinquency rates have always been comparatively high, might well fill the minds of administrators with foreboding and an urgent desire to take appropriate action before the situation actually develops into a critical phase. Those who remember the fate of those chronically unemployed youths of the 1930s and their fatalistic attitude cannot but view the prospect with alarm. For, while the 1930 youths were resigned to the point of apathy, their successors thirty years later may very well prove aggressive and rebellious in similar circumstances. Young people today have first-hand experience of a high standard of living. They have developed tastes and expectations which would seem incredible to their forebears. As teenagers they have, in a time of full employment and high wages, become the object of extensive commercial interest and a whole new market of

¹ E. R. Braithwaite. 'To Sir, With Love.' Bodley Head. 1959.

services and commodities has been brought into existence to meet their demands. Moreover, they are physically much fitter, better developed in every way. It is altogether inconceivable that in the social circumstances of today these young people will passively accept unemployment, adjust themselves to dependency, reduce their spending and tamely wait for the mythical tide to turn in their favour.

As the authors of this report indicate, the community must get ready to meet the coming situation in two ways. In the first place there are palliative measures; the organization of special camps to maintain morale, opening of youth clubs and other public premises during the daytime for courses of general educational value and even for recreation. Secondly, there are the long-term remedial policies which require more than local action for their success. One such measure would be the early raising of the school-leaving age to 16 and the development of county colleges in ways suggested by the Crowther Committee's Report. These policies would, if vigorously carried out, go a long way to ease the situation, although even then there would remain a substantial residue of unemployed youngsters in constant danger of deterioration whose needs would have to be met in other ways. And here, as the report urges, co-operation with both sides of industry is essential. Both employers and trade union officials need to be made aware of the imminent danger and encouraged to collaborate with welfare services in planning an overall campaign to prevent what is at present no more than a local difficulty developing into a national problem. So far the government has taken little more than a desultory interest in what is likely to happen, urging industry to make more apprenticeships available. Industry, on the other hand, has mainly retorted by saying that it is not their job to train and care for the citizen of tomorrow.

The value of the Liverpool report is that in a local setting the outlines of the national problem emerge clearly and the solution proposed, that of collaboration between statutory and voluntary bodies, between employers and trade unionists, social workers and educationists may be studied during the coming year to see how far viable social policies develop. But the problem is nation-wide and sooner or later the government will be obliged to play a more active rôle. This may involve new legislation but it will also serve to encourage acceptance of the view that youth, far from being the concern merely of a few specialists, is the responsibility of all sections of the community. Not until this idea is generally accepted can we expect any easing of what may very well prove to be a major social problem in the next decade.

JOHN B. MAYS.

R. v. PODOLA

It is seldom that a criminal case both achieves public notoriety and also becomes part of the lawyer's stock-in-trade. Most sensational cases are of little interest to the professional: but *R. v. Podola* is an exception. The legal issues raised were difficult and of the first importance.

Podola was convicted at the Central Criminal Court on 24th September, 1959, of capital murder. At the trial his counsel, after the arraignment, contested the preliminary issue of whether Podola was fit to plead, on the ground that at the relevant period of time he was suffering from hysterical amnesia amounting to insanity within the meaning of Section 2 of the Criminal Lunatics Act 1900. The

preliminary issue was dealt with in two stages. First, the jury was asked to find whether Podola was suffering from genuine hysterical amnesia at the material time. They found that he was not. The jury was then directed to find that, that being so, Podola was not insane and was therefore fit to stand his trial.

The trial then proceeded, and Podola was convicted. He did not appeal but petitioned the Secretary of State. The latter referred the case to the Court of Criminal Appeal under Section 19 (a) of the Criminal Appeal Act 1907 on the question whether the onus of proof of unfitness to plead lay on the defence or the prosecution, Edmund Davies J. having ruled that the onus was on the defence, and that the standard to be applied was the familiar 'balance of probabilities' test. The further point was raised whether the Court of Criminal Appeal had jurisdiction to hear the reference by the Secretary of State.

To dispose of the last first—briefly, the court held that it had jurisdiction to hear an appeal against a finding of fitness to plead where that finding had been followed by a conviction (applying *Crane v. D.P.P.*, [1921] 2 A.C. 299, not following *R. v. Jefferson* (1908), 24 T.L.R. 877). The court having thus decided that it had jurisdiction, then found firstly that the trial judge's direction on the onus of proof was correct, and secondly that amnesia by itself, confined to the time during which the matters in issue took place, could not form grounds for a verdict of unfitness to plead.

The issue of fitness to plead may be raised by the prosecution, the defence or by the trial judge. The problem of onus of proof only arises where the prosecution or defence challenges the alleged insanity. The court enunciated three clear principles, upholding the trial judge's direction (see 43 Cr. App. R. 235).

In effect, provided the onus of proof had been correctly indicated, the jury's finding that Podola was not at the material time suffering from genuine hysterical amnesia disposed of the case. However, even if Podola had been found by the jury to have been suffering from genuine amnesia, his counsel would still have had to establish at the trial that genuine amnesia can form grounds for a verdict of unfitness to plead. The judgment of the Court of Criminal Appeal points out: 'The words "If any person . . . shall be insane . . . so that such person cannot be tried upon such indictment" contained in section 2 of the Act of 1800 have in many cases since 1800 been construed as including persons who are not insane within the M'Naghten Rules, but who, by reason of some physical or mental condition, cannot follow the proceedings at the trial and so cannot make a proper defence in those proceedings.' The tests to be applied when juries are considering whether a person ought not to be tried because of his mental condition were laid down by Alderson B. in *R. v. Pritchard* (1836), 7 C.P. 303. The test relevant to the Podola case is whether the defendant 'is of sufficient intellect to comprehend the course of proceedings on the trial, so as to make a proper defence—to know that he might challenge any of you to whom he may object—and to comprehend the details of the evidence, which in a case of this nature must constitute a minute investigation.' It is important to realize that only amnesia was pleaded. There was no suggestion that Podola was unfit to plead by reason of any other defect. Despite a strong plea by his counsel that Podola's loss of memory at the relevant time meant that he could not make 'a proper defence' and could not 'comprehend the details of the evidence' within the Pritchard test, the court felt unable to extend the Pritchard test to cover a defendant who was mentally normal at the

time of his trial and perfectly capable of instructing his solicitor as to what submission his counsel was to put forward with regard to the commission of the crime.

The court summed up its judgment in the following words:—

- ‘1. In our judgment there was a right of appeal by the appellant to this court.
2. There is no criticism to be made of the summing-up of the learned judge on the preliminary issue.
3. Even if the loss of memory had been a genuine loss of memory, that did not of itself render the appellant insane so that he could not be tried on the indictment, and no other ground for alleging insanity was put forward.’

The court’s decision on the onus of proof and its rejection of the defence plea for an extension of the traditional interpretation of insanity raise important issues. Where the trial of the issue of fitness requires a conflicting battery of Harley Street doctors, and a formidable display of forensic skill by counsel over a period of nine days, the confused jury may all too easily take refuge in the judge’s direction on the onus of proof. Their finding may well depend on whether they simplify the issue to themselves as ‘Well, the prosecution have to prove he was really shamming, and they have not convinced me,’ or as ‘Well, it is up to the defence to prove he was not shamming and they have not convinced me.’ In Podola’s case it is worth noting that the jury were out for over three hours, returned for direction on the onus of proof, were told that the onus was on the defence, and *a few minutes later* came back with the finding that the amnesia was not genuine.

In view of the jury’s finding of fact, the court’s comments on the scope of the Pritchard test for unfitness to plead must strictly be *obiter dicta*. But they will clearly carry great weight if the issue arises again. As the court pointed out, Podola’s case was ‘the first attempt in England to assert that hysterical amnesia covering the period of the events which are the subject of the indictment renders a man insane so that he cannot be tried.’ The court approved the Scottish case of *Russell v. H.M. Advocate*, 1946 S.C. (J.) 37 in which loss of memory at the relevant time was established, but both Lord Sorn and the High Court of Justiciary held that loss of memory *by itself* could not amount to insanity. The only effect it has is that the judge should point out to the jury that they must take into consideration very carefully the fact that the accused cannot remember the events.

This is all very well on paper, but what happens, for example, where there are no witnesses and the sequence of events leading to the allegedly criminal act could sustain a plea of self-defence? Whether the defendant used that minimum degree of force which the law allows could never be satisfactorily established if the assailant was dead and the defendant was found by the jury to be suffering from genuine amnesia. How in such a case could the defendant be said to be able to make a proper defence?

The case was difficult and the points it raised were, one would have thought, ‘of exceptional public importance’. It is therefore regrettable that the Attorney-General refused further appeal to the House of Lords. His refusal had the incidental benefit of bringing into question once again the present system of appeal to the House of Lords in criminal cases, but neither this nor the trial judge’s assurance that his name would become part of English legal history, can have brought much comfort to Podola.

C. D. L. CLARK.

I.P.P.F.—COUNCIL OF EUROPE JOINT SEMINAR

Strasbourg, September 1959

There has been in recent years a noticeable growth in the use by the courts of medical and social reports about offenders. In England and Wales the number of reports from probation officers alone has increased by nearly 44 per cent. in four years and exceeded 100,000 in 1958. Clinics and psychiatrists will have noticed a similar increase in the demand for their services by the courts. Those who produced the reports may wonder at times whether they are put to any use after the court has made its decision. It would seem desirable that such reports should be further used to assist in treatment. If the offender is sent away to a penal institution the report should be helpful to the authorities who must make decisions about appropriate treatment. Reports prepared for the courts would also appear to include information useful to those who will be responsible for the eventual after-care of any offender sent to an institution.

The practice in these matters varies. The observation, treatment and rehabilitation of offenders was the subject of a recent seminar in Strasbourg arranged by the International Penal and Penitentiary Foundation in conjunction with the Council of Europe consultative committee on the treatment of offenders. In most of the twenty countries represented observation within penal institutions is now general as a preliminary to, or part of, treatment; and it also seems to be accepted that penal authorities should have power to adapt treatment, based on such observation, to the needs of the offender. But the value of observation before sentence was stressed. It should, of course, in many cases result in non-institutional treatment; but where this is not the case there seems to be considerable inconsistency in the use made of information given to the courts. The obvious need is for this to accompany the offender into the institution, but it does not always do so. In some cases this is because treatment is in the hands of a quite different service from that concerned with trial and sentence. That a close link between the two was obviously desirable became clear in the seminar.

The link, however, is also needed between treatment services and the post-treatment, or after-care, service. The wastage by duplication between reports used by the courts and those used by the institutions is even more foolish if those responsible for after-care must also gather their own information. The use of voluntary organizations for after-care purposes sometimes involves this, but where the after-care services have recognition, even if not official standing, their workers can operate within penal institutions and establish continuity between treatment and after-care. Where there are full-time qualified social workers within prison, who can have access to material gathered both before trial and in the institution, this can be used in co-operation with the prison authority in preparing for the rehabilitation of the offender.

Although the seminar attempted to discuss observation, treatment and rehabilitation in three sections, their interaction could not be ignored and was repeatedly stressed. In Britain probation officers provide much of the pre-treatment information, and much of the after-care, but in between there may or may not be any social work undertaken—and if there is, it will be undertaken by a different service. The seminar showed that there is a strong case, in the social work field, for one social service operating throughout in co-operation with the

medical and treatment specialists. Five days were, however, insufficient for full exploration of the possibilities of this desirable integration of the many, sometimes fragmentary, services involved in the treatment of offenders. FRANK DAWTRY.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF EX-PRISONERS

*Correctional Research, Bulletin No. 9, November 1959*¹

This Bulletin is a most useful source of information on the unhappy plight of ex-prisoners in the United States. There is, first, the vicious circle of 'no job, no release'—if he has no job waiting for him the parolee cannot be discharged even if he has been paroled, and as long as he has to stay inside no job can often be found for him. Second, there are the handicaps resulting from lack of employment in prison which, if prolonged, may deprive the prisoner of whatever skill and fitness for work he may ever have possessed. The opposition of organized labour and organized business is identified as the main cause of idleness in American prisons although not more than 50,000 prisoners would have to be employed in prison production to solve the problem, against 60 million persons gainfully employed in U.S.A. Thirdly, the Bonding Companies, to whose practices a special section is devoted, refuse to issue bonds for a man with a criminal record. 'When a man has demonstrated over a period of years,' A. M. Kirkpatrick is quoted as writing, 'that he is living a responsible life free from criminal activity or association it becomes discrimination of the worst sort if he is denied opportunities to advance himself or pursue a chosen avenue of employment.' 'The "convict bogey" concept, rather than losing ground in the mind of today's public, has, if anything, gained in acceptance' (United Prison Assn. of Massachusetts). But 'fortunately, there are employers who are willing to take a second look.' Fourthly, there is the long list of legal disabilities facing the ex-prisoner. 'Would you ever guess,' writes the Director of Vocational Placement of the Osborne Association in May, 1959, 'that New York has the most hideous array of disabilities to offer every ex-offender that has ever been conceived in all of our states in the U.S.A.?'

Further sections ask what can be done to improve the position and describe some experimental programmes for gaining community support; and there is also a discussion of the specific problem of the short-term prisoner who is not discharged on parole and for whom as a rule nothing is done. H. M.

EMPLOYMENT OF PRISONERS

It was announced by the Home Office on 29th December, 1959, that the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland had decided to appoint an Advisory Council on the Employment of Prisoners, with these terms of reference:—

To be a standing council to advise on the organization and management of industries in prisons and Borstals, including the supply of sufficient and suitable work; the development of other forms of employment for inmates; the industrial training of inmates; and related questions.

Sir Wilfrid Anson, lately deputy chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company, will be the first chairman of the council, and its members will include members of Parliament, representatives of industrial management and from trade unions, and other members with an interest in the problem of finding suitable work for prisoners.

¹ A publication of the United Prison Association of Massachusetts, 33 Mount Vernon Street, Boston 8, Mass. Compiled and edited by Professor Albert Morris, 41 pp.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE POLICE

The Prime Minister announced on the 16th December, 1959, that a Royal Commission on the Police was to be set up with the following terms of reference:—

To review the constitutional position of the police throughout Great Britain; the arrangements for their control and administration and, in particular, to consider:

- (1) the constitution and functions of local police authorities;
- (2) the status and accountability of members of police forces, including chief officers of police;
- (3) the relationship of the police with the public and the means of ensuring that complaints by the public against the police are effectively dealt with; and
- (4) the broad principles which should govern the remuneration of the constable, having regard to the nature and extent of police duties and responsibilities and the need to attract and retain an adequate number of recruits with the proper qualifications.

Sir Henry Willink has been appointed chairman of the Royal Commission. Mr. T. A. Critchley of the Home Office is Secretary, and Mr. D. G. Mackay of the Scottish Home Department is Assistant Secretary.

CRIMINAL INJURIES (COMPENSATION) BILL

This Private Members' Bill, which has still to receive its Second Reading, is intended to compensate those injured by certain criminal offences against the person, and to provide for their dependants and for the dependants of those killed by criminal acts.

Clause I proclaims the right to compensation for the victim of any offence specified in the Schedule to the Bill and declares that such a victim or his dependants shall be entitled to the same benefits as are provided for insured persons and their dependants in Sec. 7 or in Secs. 11–24 of the National Injuries (Industrial Injuries) Act, 1946. This is the corner stone of the Bill. The remaining six clauses deal with partial fault of the injured person, the machinery for determination of questions and claims (the side heading to Clause 3 as printed seems misleading) and the machinery for payment of benefits. The benefits due as a result of the provisions of the Bill would be paid out of the Industrial Injuries Fund. The Bill would not extend to Scotland.

The offences specified in the Schedule include capital murder, murder, manslaughter, and offences against various provisions of some obviously relevant Acts, *e.g.* Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, and the Sexual Offenders Act of 1956. It is important to note that the Bill would empower the Secretary of State by order to add to, alter or amend, the list of offences contained in the Schedule.

The chances of the Bill becoming law seem remote, unless the Government gives it their support. This they are unlikely to do, since they are themselves studying the comparative survey which Dr. Stephen Schafer undertook for the Home Office. The Bill was due to have its Second Reading on 5th February, but does not appear to have had it owing to pressure of debating time on other Private Members' Bills.

C. D. L. CLARK.

CRITICAL NOTICE

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. By Barbara Wootton. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959. Pp. 400. 35s.)

The outstanding characteristic of this important book lies in the lucidity and the relentless logic of the author. Few truisms remain unexposed and numerous myths, both popular and scientific, are shattered. There are, however, faults which detract from the value of the work. Barbara Wootton's iconoclasm, for example, is at times carried to extremes. In the chapter on social workers, she is no longer judge, but counsel for the prosecution, and the quotations (weighted heavily with grandiose and loosely-worded statements) are adduced primarily with the object of attacking contemporary trends in social casework. The same passion for logic and prejudice against the rôle of emotional forces in behaviour emerge in the chapters on separation research and on mental health and mental disorder.

The subject is social pathology, defined simply and pragmatically as those kinds of anti-social behaviour on which public money is spent for purposes of prevention, punishment or treatment. This covers crime and delinquency, divorce, illegitimacy, the 'problem family', prostitutes, alcoholics and the unemployable. But it is on the criminal that the main body of the work is focused, and this significantly enough, because only in the field of crime has there been sufficient research to justify the kind of analysis which the author wishes to make. Research in other areas of social pathology in Great Britain is seriously defective.

After discussing the broad outline of her subject and the statistical data relating to it, she then proceeds to examine the assumption of so many studies that symptoms of social pathology are concentrated at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. She is critical of the studies of the so-called 'social problem' group and of the ecology of problem areas, pleading for longer-term and more extensive investigations. One might carry her plea further than this and point to the need for ecological studies of other kinds of symptoms—of psychosomatic illness for example—which do not appear to be concentrated in the bottom social class.

The third chapter is an examination from twenty-one criminological studies, chosen on methodological grounds, of twelve commonly accepted hypotheses relating to such factors as size of family, club membership, social status, truancy, broken homes and educational attainment. This chapter, together with her examination of criminological theories based on the age of the offender and an analysis of prediction studies, is critical and penetrating. So much so that we are compelled to ask why we have assumed for so long an agreed body of knowledge containing hypotheses on which the facts differ so widely. On the prediction studies, by contrast with the other researches which she examined, Barbara Wootton is enthusiastic, contrasting the 'exceptionally promising results of prediction studies' with the 'fruitlessness of investigation into the *causes* of social phenomena' (*italics mine*). This emphasis on the value of prediction is closely related to a general conclusion of the book that research is best directed to 'which' rather than 'why' questions where a choice between a limited range of alternatives can be made.

Part I of the book includes also a study of research into the effects of maternal separation. Here also her method is to high-light the ambiguity of the terminology

used and the varied nature of the consequences of separation, and to plead for studies of comparable infantile experiences in the general population. Her summing-up of the value of this separation research lies in 'its incidental exposure of the prevalence of deplorable patterns of institutional upbringing'.

But is there really nothing else to be said about the significance of separation researches? My disagreement with Barbara Wootton is not over the argument of her analysis but over the way in which she denigrates the whole body of clinical insight which is an integral part of these researches. To dismiss the study of causation in so sweeping a manner is to forget the contribution to therapy and to clinical understanding which comes from research of this kind. She is, however, inconsistent. In her analysis of criminological research she is sceptical of the general, broad-based, studies of large heterogeneous samples of the criminal, yet is critical of Bowlby for his refusal to undertake general population surveys.

The same unwillingness to appreciate the rôle of the clinician emerges in her conclusions on prediction. Statistical conclusions, though frequently more accurate than intuitive judgments, must be fitted into the general body of knowledge in use at a particular time. This fact Barbara Wootton seems reluctant to accept.

Part II is concerned with attitudes to social pathology. Three subjects are selected for this purpose: mental health, mental disorder and criminal responsibility, and social work. Here Barbara Wootton has allowed personal judgment to invade the discussion to a much greater extent than in the first part. On mental health, her method is to collect definitions derived from a wide variety of sources. She argues that these definitions incorporate within them ideas based on socially approved behaviour; appeals to science constitute a façade and the definitions are weighted with the values of the individual or society which defines them. She contrasts the problem of definition in the two fields of physical and of mental health and emphasizes the elusiveness of the idea of mental-cum-physical health.

This leads on to the problem of moral and criminal responsibility. Unless we can rely on a definition of mental health in objective scientific terms without recourse to subjective moral judgments, we open the door wide to the definition of criminal behaviour in terms of the symptoms of mental disorder. The distinction between badness and madness loses its meaning. The mistake, therefore, of departing from the precise intellectualism of the M'Naghten rules is that not one of the alternative criteria of irresponsibility appears to be logically tenable. Of these alternatives, the most satisfactory in Barbara Wootton's view is the criterion of disorder of function independent of the criminal behaviour. But even this criterion, she argues, founders on the psychopath. The psychopath constitutes the crux of her argument. Whereas the moderately wicked must expect punishment, the extremely wicked are classified as cases of mental disorder. Thus the departure from the M'Naghten test of responsibility sets us on the 'slippery slope which offers no real resting-place short of the total abandonment of the whole concept of responsibility'. Definitions of mental defect also, weighted as they tend to be in terms of social competence, tend to threaten in the same way the idea of responsibility. There is no place for a half-way position; the difficulty can be resolved only by placing the decision as to treatment in the hands of the psychiatric clinic.

Logically, Barbara Wootton's argument is a sound one. Yet your reviewer is not satisfied that logic alone is the final arbiter in human behaviour. Is not this

the fundamental weakness of Barbara Wootton's position? Motives are not purely intellectual: emotions are of equal importance. We cannot, for example, deny the rôle of instinct and of unconscious factors in motivation. Barbara Wootton's concern to present the argument purely at the intellectual level emerges also in her chapter on social workers, discussion of which must fall outside the scope of this review.

The slope indeed is a slippery one, but it is not devoid of footholds. The M'Naghten rules do not hold a sacrosanct position in legal thought which must never be altered or modified. They constitute the response of the judges at a particular stage in our knowledge of human behaviour. Great difficulties do face both judges and juries in using the social and psychiatric evidence presented to them by experts, but there is no inherent reason why they should confine themselves purely to evidence as to intellect. Nor are they bound to conclude that 'explanation involves exculpation', a point which the author herself underlines. The court of law still has the task of sentencing the offender in the light of available knowledge and the circumstances of the case.

Barbara Wootton's conclusions are divided into the methodological and the practical. As to the former, her study clearly points to the importance of studies focused on more specific and homogeneous samples and of the use of more refined methods. In her opinion it is as the 'hand-maidens of practical decision that the social sciences can shine most brightly'. Yet even here the help that they can give is likely to be in very limited fields where the range of variables is circumscribed.

On the practical side her plea is for a better study of institutions and an avoidance of new institutions (using this term in a broad sense) in preference to the more difficult task of improving the old. Classification she sees as an essential element in scientific progress, but it becomes dangerous if used as the basis of rigid administrative procedures.

All this is wise advice which we neglect at our peril. One wishes, however, that she had showed herself to be more specific about the precise areas in which further research might be conducted and about the issues to which it might be directed.

JOHN SPENCER.

REVIEWS

LA DÉLINQUANCE JUVENILE EN BELGIQUE DE 1939 A 1957. By Aimée Racine. (Centre d'Etude de la Délinquance Juvenile (CEDJ)—A.S.B.L. Publication No. 2—Bruxelles. 1959. Pp. 150. No price).

Professor Aimée Racine is the scientific director of the recently-established Belgian Centre for the Study of Juvenile Delinquency (see already *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 10, 60). In this capacity she has to present annual reports on the state of affairs in Belgium. In this monograph, for which she has been awarded the 'Prix Henri Jaspar 1959', she gives more than an annual report; she surveys the development of the subject since 1940, a year which she regards as a turning point in her country's history. Her sources are in the first place official documents and also the unpublished annual reports of the Juvenile Court judges and prosecutors whose value varies greatly from district to district (p. 14). As everywhere, juvenile delinquency has increased in Belgium, but the increases shown on p. 24 are not

particularly striking, except for the war years. An interesting feature of the Belgian system is that a high proportion of the juveniles brought before the courts were not 'jugés' but dismissed with a caution (*e.g.* between 1953 and 1957 we find that 19,642 were 'renvoyés devant le juge des enfants', but only 11,240 were 'jugés'). The proportion of girls was very high, usually about one-half of the number of boys (pp. 34-36). Whereas the age factor has been dealt with somewhat summarily, the geographical distribution is shown at great detail (pp. 37 ff. and 139 ff.). Regarding the war-time increases, we find that larceny increased by about 400 per cent. Homosexual behaviour is not an offence in itself in Belgium, but such cases can be brought before the Juvenile Court; the phenomenon is stated to be of fairly recent origin and mainly one of the large cities, in particular of Brussels. The author refers to a more detailed study of this problem by R. Charles and L. Massion-Verniory in the *Revue de droit pénal et de criminologie* of December 1957, where it is stated that the 'Brigade des mœurs' in Brussels had to intervene in not less than 988 cases in 1956. Other sections of the book are devoted to special forms of theft such as stealing from department stores and of cars. Gangs and vagabondage are also discussed, and there are some detailed observations on the effect of conditions of work, of unemployment, and of the presence of foreign workers. The author stresses that while the presence of such workers cannot in itself be regarded as a source of delinquency among the Belgian youth it has to be seen as part of a much bigger social problem since there are large numbers of juvenile foreign workers in Belgium without their families, living in barracks and exposed to moral danger.

H. M.

THE PROBATION SERVICE. Edited on behalf of the National Association of Probation Officers by Joan F. S. King. (London: Butterworth & Co. Ltd., 1958. 240 pp. 25s.)

The general public's understanding of the Probation Service has been considerably increased by 'Mr. Philip Main' and his colleagues on Monday evening's I.T.V. This excellent programme has developed a capacity to mirror faithfully the bizarre situations which frequently occur in the social framework within which the Probation Service operates.

This edited compendium at present under review aims at a much more restricted public. Written almost entirely by serving probation officers, it denies any pretensions as a legal text-book or a manual of instruction. Rather, it modestly attempts to prove helpful not only to probation officers themselves, but also to the courts in the use they make of the service. To this end, it presents the history of the Probation Service, in its legal and sociological context; also that of N.A.P.O. itself. The full description of the field in which the Probation Service has entered is clear, and will prove helpful to those desirous of entering it.

The most interesting chapters are those in which the social casework relationship with the client is discussed against its background of legal sanctions. The difficulties are never side-stepped, neither are facile solutions offered. The test of helping people to adjust to life and gain their own self-respect according to their own standards remains constant. The need for a probation officer to be clear about his own attitudes to authority and punishment is pressed.

The probation officer's relationship with the court is less satisfactorily dealt

with. The author of this section flounders on the rock of divided loyalty. I would like to see the probation officer as the expert social adviser to the court. At present the training, outlook and personality of some probation officers does not make this a feasible possibility.

This book is worth recommending as a balanced, objective and descriptive work. Yet I longed for some infusion of the quickening tension that actually occurs in the daily life of the probation officer. Thus, to supplement this work, I advise its limited clientèle to join the general public—and switch to 'Mr Philip Main' on Monday evenings.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL.

THE OFFENDERS. By Giles Playfair and Derek Sington. (London: Secker and Warburg. 1957. Pp. 277. 25s.)

In England in 1780 there were 350 indictable crimes punishable by death; in 1825 there were 220. In this advanced year of the Christian era the reform still goes on, though we still have our rear-guardists, whose defence is reduced to the upholding of the death sentence for murder (certain kinds) and traitors (that is to say, when we are at war).

Under the cloak of its unassuming title, and with the bait of six heinous crimes fascinatingly recorded, Mr. Giles Playfair, a journalist, and Mr. Derek Sington, a one-time barrister, have written a most serious and convincing indictment of the death penalty, the more telling because of its restraint. They have written more; for their thesis is of rehabilitation not retribution, and they press their case well home.

To collect their material the authors have travelled (and thought) widely, and have given in absorbing detail the life-history of seven human beings convicted of murder, attempted murder or treason. Exciting and dramatic as crime stories, these accounts of the personal life, the background, the environment and of psychogenic factors lose nothing of their authenticity and merit as case histories. The rehabilitation of two of the recidivists (a youthful murderer and a 'sex maniac') is described, as well as the sordid story of the Rosenbergs who were executed for treason, Neville Heath for a double murder, and Irma Giese for her revolting part in the concentration camp crimes.

The second half of the book provides the argument and the commentary. The authors show that precept and practice are certainly not consistent even in the enlightened Western world. There are only four countries where a capital sentence does not exist at all, for many of the so called abolitionist countries still retain the death penalty for treason, while in some American States the death sentence still stands for such offences as kidnapping, rape, train wrecking, perjury at a capital trial, dynamiting, armed robbery, abortion, insurrection, castration, arson, train robbery, burglary and aggravated assault. In our own country the Senior Service is still afforded its traditional priority, for is not an explosion in a dock-yard still a capital offence on the statute book?—and in America under Federal law the Rosenbergs were executed in peace-time for espionage on behalf of a war-time ally.

One by one the authors deal with the various and not entirely consistent contentions of the non-abolitionists; of those who freely uphold the punitive penal system, of the ecclesiastical triumph in the repentance of the sinners in the con-

demned cell, and of the expiation of their crime by their own death. They are able to refute other contentions of the upholders of death, including their old argument about its deterrent and preventive influences, its attraction on grounds of economy, and (at the last ditch) its mercifulness compared with life imprisonment, which (they say) must be much worse than death. The writers stress the emotive unreliability of our judgments, finding the abolitionists also not without guilt in this respect. Strangely enough, passions stirred by the hanging of the young and wronged Ruth Ellis in this country perhaps did more for the abolitionists than any cogent argument. This sentiment towards the female murderer, and the acceptance of the female homosexual, suggest that our penal system stands as the last bulwark of chivalry in this country.

The authors believe implicitly in the sanctity of life and the necessity of the State to uphold this by its own abnegation of the capital sentence in all circumstances. The taking of life by the State is always to be considered a moral wrong, and unjustifiable even judged by any standard of reasoned argument. The death sentence, by its own connotation, can never be the expression of a moral judgment, but always of an act of retribution. Instead they postulate (but do not elaborate) a modern and progressive penal system where the fixing of punishment would not be left 'to the whim of a judge but . . . to a social worker, psychologist and psychiatrist.' Their idealistic views are perhaps best summarized in the writing of Professor Sheldon Glueck from which they quote: 'Society should utilize every scientific instrumentality for self-protection against destructive elements in its midst, with as little interference with the free life of its members as is consistent with such social self-protection.' But so much are we all victims of semantic misapprehensions that even the authors at times speak of punishment when, no doubt, they mean the imposition of therapy and re-education. And as we are all flesh and blood, who would deny that some confusion and some overlay of anger is still not to be condemned?

S. CHARLES LEWSEN.

NOT GUILTY. By Jerome and Barbara Frank. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1957. Pp. 261. 18s.)

Judge Jerome Frank, lately Judge of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, died shortly after writing this book as joint author with his daughter. It gives details of 36 cases in which innocent persons were wrongly convicted, and of the mistakes of identity, uncorroborated evidence or miscarriages of justice by which this occurred.

It is a salutary experience to recall how a witness, anxious to be honest and helpful, relives a past experience in which his recollection may easily misrepresent actualities of that experience. The authors suggest that perhaps erroneous identification of the accused constitutes the major cause of known wrongful convictions. In hundreds of cases, they state, honest witnesses have identified the wrong man—but luckily the majority of those wrongly accused have been able to offer irrefutable evidence that they were in some other place at the time of the commission of the offence. Some of those erroneously convicted spent years in prison, and the histories of their ultimate release make thought-provoking reading.

The reliability of jury trial in criminal cases is questioned here. There may be cogent reasons for trial by a judge alone. But to state, as on page 224: 'In England, the original home of the jury, today in most criminal suits (except those

involving a possible death sentence) the defendant waives a jury trial', does not help to make out a strong attack.

However, the powerful message of this book is clear, and worth pursuing, *i.e.* that major reforms are necessary in America. No one knows how many innocent men were erroneously convicted of murder. For once a man is dead, all interest in vindicating him usually evaporates.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL.

KEEP THEM OUT OF PRISON. By R. A. F. Cooks. (London: Jarrolds. 1958. Pp. 190. 16s.)

Mr. Cooks was for five years Warden of the Leicester Probation Hostel for Boys. Previously he had served as a policeman and also as a probation officer. This book is a straightforward account of Mr. and Mrs. Cooks' stewardship at Leicester. Experienced social workers in the delinquency field will not find this book particularly revealing and will be all too familiar with the problems as presented by the boys. The author's rather jaunty literary style is slightly irritating at times and his occasional facetious comments about psychiatric and other services appear a little out of place. The author makes one or two generalizations which tend to lessen one's confidence in the book as a whole; *e.g.* (on page 188) Mr. Cooks says: 'I am of the opinion that the approved school system is as out of date as our prisons', and on page 97 he says: 'There is a lot of nonsense published about homosexuals: they will pervert young people if given the opportunity.' Statements such as these require detailed elaboration. In a final chapter Mr. Cooks gives some of his own opinions based on his experience at Leicester. On the causes and treatment of youthful delinquency, he seems inclined to want the best of both worlds. Whilst on one page tending to belittle the contribution of the psychiatric services, on the following page he pleads for the more intensive training of teachers in problems of personality development.

Despite these faults Mr. Cooks's account of his work indicates his perseverance, perception and insight in dealing with very difficult youths. Like many of us in social work, he is probably much better at practice than at theory.

HERSCHEL PRINS.

THE ADOLESCENT THROUGH FICTION. A Psychological Approach. By Norman Kiell. (New York: International Universities Press. 1959.) Pp. 345. \$5.)

This is a book to read and keep. The text describes normal adolescent personality development, in nine chapters, ranging from the psychological phenomena associated with physical development to the cultural conflicts of young people, to discussing their learning difficulties, the choice of a career, to adult independence. Each chapter has several extracts from well-known novelists, clearly confirming the points made in the text and often leaving one with the feeling that it would be interesting to read the whole book and not just the extract.

It is a book for all responsible for the training of social workers, teachers or residential staff, whether in Approved Schools or Children's Homes, as it has an extensive bibliography; at the same time it would be equally enjoyed by students of very varied intellectual ability. And, may I add, it has a place in the spare room, except that it might be stolen.

J. LOMAX-SIMPSON.

ON THE MYSTERIOUS LEAP FROM MIND TO BODY. Edited by Felix Deutsch: 14 collaborators. (New York: International Universities Press Inc. 1959. Pp. 273. \$5.)

Under the leadership of the editor who is widely respected for his analytic studies of conversion symptoms, the Boston Psychoanalytic Society got together to discuss the theory of the body-mind relation with particular regard to the enigma of translation of psychic distress into physical disorders of function.

The title of the book is Freud's famous expression of the enigma, which, though disappearing when dualism is discarded, reveals in fact an issue which is more than linguistic—the psycho-physics of human behaviour. Some would aver that the James-Lange theory of the emotions renders the problem artificial, and, furthermore, if the reservoir of instinctual pressure belongs to the physiological life of the person, then man's cultural complexity makes the conversion of mental into physical a species of throw-back to primary process again.

The individual essays cover a very wide range of psychopathic phenomena. Each contributor at first expresses his views on the body-mind nexus and then proceeds to give a clinico-analytic study; *e.g.* symbolization as formative stage of conversion process (Deutsch); rôle of identification in the conversion process (Luding); psychological study of conversion process in women (Menzer-Benaroi); symptom formation and male homosexuality (Weinberger).

This volume is a thought-provoking collection by clinicians and analysts who have thought hard on a basic problem, and may well bring the term 'psycho-genesis' to an end of its usefulness.

E. M.

COLLECTED PAPERS: THROUGH PEDIATRICS TO PSYCHOANALYSIS. D. W. Winnicott. (London: Tavistock Publications. 1958. Pp. 350. 35s.)

These papers constitute the work spanning a period from 1931 to 1956, during which the author passed from his purely pediatric to his entirely psycho-analytic practice and research. For it is clear, as it is with most original psycho-analysts, that treatment and research have progressed together. The author claims that it is a very good and in fact logical transition to pass from pediatrics directly to analysis. Not all pediatricians will be with him, nevertheless in Dr. Winnicott's case the transition seems to have been a fruitful one for it has allowed him to make a valuable contribution to the psycho-physics of child life.

In many papers the contribution to the study of delinquency will be obvious to the discerning. In his 1946 essay he differentiates anti-social behaviour from clear-cut delinquency and states with some surprising emphasis that for many of these states measures of social adjustment, such as carefully planned placement, are necessary, and this without any sacrifice of psycho-dynamic principles.

The volume will be rewarding and thought-provoking to all who deal with children, teachers, and the like, as well as doctors and fellow analysts.

E. M.

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